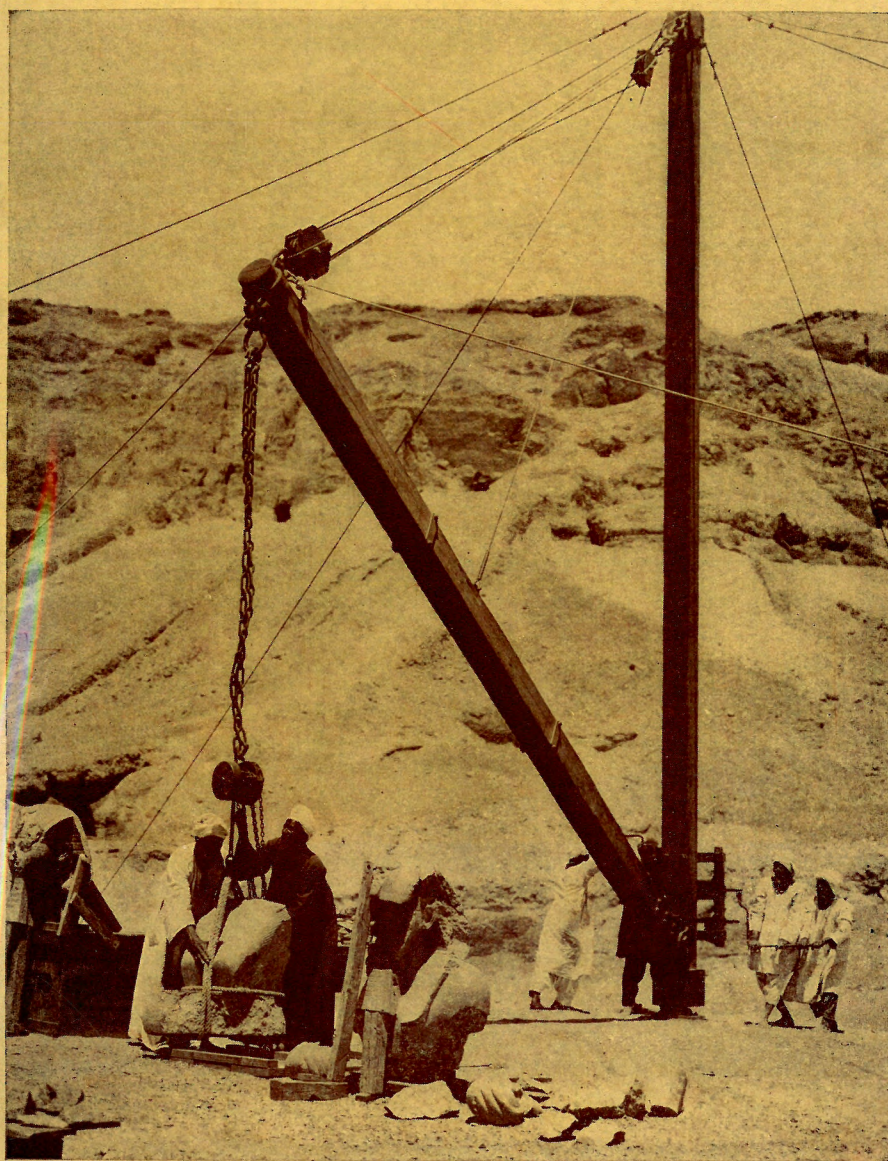


EXCAVATIONS
AT DEIR
EL BAHRI
1911-1931

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By H. E. WINLOCK

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MACMILLAN

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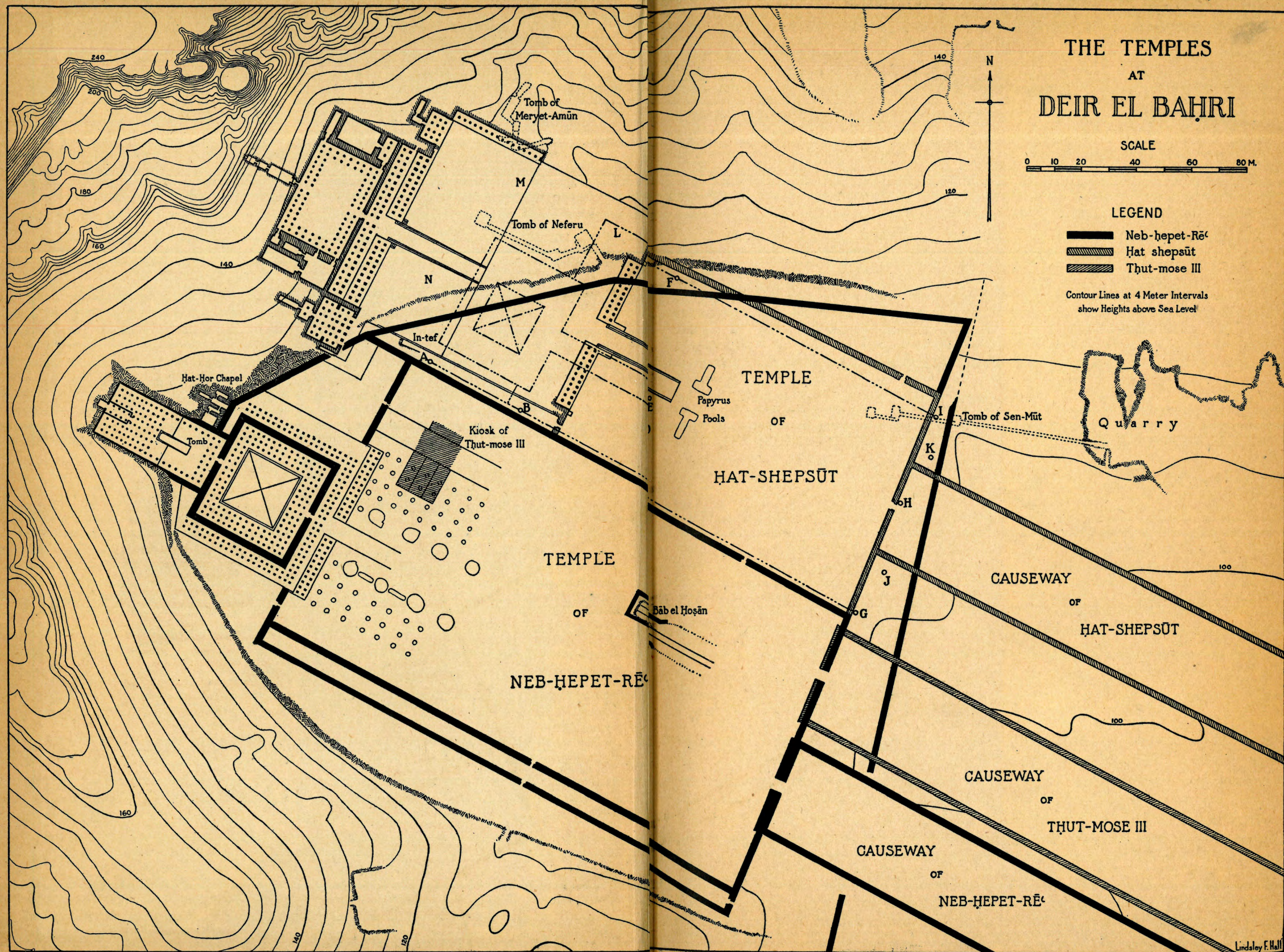
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Curator of the Egyptian Department until 1929

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DONALD F. BROWN, 1929–1930

HARRY BURTON, 1919–1931

CHARLOTTE R. CLARK, 1928–1931

WALTER CLINE, 1924–1925

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PREFACE

The spring of 1905 is a long time ago now, but I can remember vividly how one afternoon Mr. Lythgoe asked me to stay after class in his office in the old Museum on Copley Square, in Boston. It could not be marks he wanted to talk about. They had been good. It could not be attendance. I had not missed a single lecture in his class all the year long, partly because I was intensely interested in ancient Egypt, somewhat because having made the Lampoon I did not have to work so hard over that, but mainly, I must confess, because I had not dared to cut after my orgy of Lampy and liquor had been stopped so neatly and completely the year before by the Dean, when he put me on probation. However, I was so jumpy that when Mr. Lythgoe explained that he wanted to know whether I would care to go to Egypt with him after I had graduated, I distinctly recall that I was practically deaf, dumb and blind for several minutes. And then I remember what seemed to be a strange voice explaining that I could not make any engagements as long as that probation held. Mr. Lythgoe was not the least interested. I had made an A in his course at Midyears and he would be glad to put an end to my nightmares with an unclassifiable A+ at Finals, and when I knew he was not worried by my academic standing, I accepted with a shout loud enough for the echoes of it still to fill my soul.

In Mr. Lythgoe's office in the old Boston Museum of Fine Arts there began an association between an older and a younger man that lasted thirty years, until his death in 1934. By the time I actually joined him in London in the autumn of 1906 on my way through Europe to Egypt, he had had an unpleasant row and left the Boston Museum for New York and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and larger sums of money and tremendously improved conditions of work were his reward ever after.

He was an extraordinary person, was Albert Morton Lythgoe. His father and mother were British, but he was born in America and had gone to Harvard before he went to the American School in Athens and later to study Egyptology with Wiedemann in Bonn. Then he was in Egypt working with Reisner, after which came three seasons for Boston, and finally over a score of years for New York—the great years when he founded and built up his outstanding department in the Metropolitan Museum. He was a person of unusual ability—per-

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haps even more as an organiser than as an archaeologist. He was not in the least a dictator in matters that pertained to his subject, but anyone who was foolish enough to cross his path in matters of policy, or in dealings with Mr. Morgan or Mr. Davis, M. Maspero or Mohammed Mohassib, was not likely to do so twice. And he was extraordinarily kind. I remember a day in our first year at Lisht when I caught up with him when he was walking home with Mace. They did not hear me as I came up in the soft sand and I inadvertently heard him explaining that I might be worse and begging another chance for me. Some years later, I recall, how he stood aside and waited and watched when my one, and I think only offer of a job from another institution came to me. It was typical of him that he let me settle my own problem in my own way, and only when I decided to stay with him, did he so much as mention a raise that would be mine if I remained. When I went in the army during the first World War he always saw that the Museum made up any difference that existed between my officer's pay and that which I would have gotten from the Museum, until I became a major and got a bit more from the Government. When all unknown to anybody, his health began to fail, Mr. Lythgoe resigned but only when he was certain that the Trustees of the Museum would let me succeed him as Curator of the Egyptian Department. Then finally came a flash of what I am certain was one of heartfelt thankfulness when in 1932 the Trustees chose me to fill the place of Mr. Robinson as the Museum's Director. A couple of years later he died—a great organiser, a great worker, and above all a very great and loyal friend.

His understanding with me had started while I was an undergraduate in Harvard. That with Arthur C. Mace, an English member of Reisner's California Expedition, was fixed by cable from New York in the autumn of 1906, after Mr. Lythgoe was certain of his own appointment in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I was, of course, by far the youngest of the three who started the Museum's expedition in the winter of 1906 and 1907, and was in Egypt while the expedition grew, and had a hand in many of its extraordinary discoveries. Twenty-five years later Ambrose Lansing who had first joined us in 1911, took over the leadership with William B. Hayes, as his assistant. In 1936 they came home to help arrange the collections in the Museum, and the death in 1940 of Harry Burton, who had been our brilliant photographer ever since the first World War, saw the last of us out of the Nile Valley, obviously for a long time to come.

PREFACE

For most drawings appearing in these pages my indebtedness to Lindsley F. Hall is obvious, but it is especially great in some half a dozen instances—including the end papers of this book—where he has very generously redrawn his old cuts, adding details which have come up since they originally were published. Two drawings are by C. K. Wilkinson and Walter Hauser. In 1928 Charlotte Clark was sent out to Egypt and until 1931 she gave us a hand in the field. I know that homely people often have excellent brains, but when equally good heads are found on very attractive persons, it is a sort of general satisfaction to all concerned. And finally my wife saved me a terrible amount of uncertainty and worry, for after years of turning me down she finally married me in 1912. Since then we have had exceptionally good times living the following pages through, publishing them first in the Museum *Bulletin*, and then with some revision here in this volume on the excavations at Deir el Bahri.

Finally, I must acknowledge how deeply I feel indebted to my successor as the Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Francis Henry Taylor, and to the Museum's Secretaries, Henry Watson Kent and his successor George Lauder Greenway, for their permission to use the text and illustrations which were published originally in the Museum *Bulletin*.

When these articles appeared in the *Bulletin* there were about double the number of illustrations included in the ninety-six plates of this volume. A good many of those first cuts were repetitions and still more were put into the *Bulletin* to give subscribers a sort of local color. Now and then one appeared of which the subject was so familiar that it was hardly needed. Many of these have been culled out for economy's sake, but should anyone want to see them—and one can always gain something from Burton's photographs—the reader has only to find an old file of *Bulletins*.

I have had a number of points of view all the time I have been making over these articles. The *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art is not generally available to the ordinary public. The articles reprinted here are scattered along through its numbers for nearly thirty years, and the way we spelled ancient Egyptian names has changed considerably in that length of time, so that some names might be hard to recognise as easily as one could wish. Then I must admit too, that errors can be found in the first printed draft, though only a few, thank Heaven, got into its pages. Furthermore it did not take very much skill to cut a good deal from the articles by paring away the repetitions, originally thought necessary when they came

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out at intervals of a year or more. We always felt the reader should have all the facts before him year by year as the articles appeared.

And so this collection comes out. Its failings are obvious but even with them I can only hope that it will prove as interesting to read about what we did as it was to do it.

North Haven, Maine.

SEASON OF 1911-1912

In the fall of 1910 Mr. Lythgoe had me give up work in Khargeh Oasis and get Sir Gaston Maspero, the Director General of Antiquities in Egypt, to give us a concession to dig in the ruins of the palace of King Amen-hotpe III at Thebes. He was a delightful person, was Maspero, and when our talk was over I had left his dark little office in the Cairo Museum with a right to excavate not only the palace, but Kurnet Muraï, a hill over a kilometer to the northeast, and the Asāsif, a desert valley about three kilometers in the same direction.

At the beginning of the next year Mr. Lythgoe had told me that J. Pierpont Morgan, President of the Museum, was not interested the least little bit in the palace which he had seen me digging the season before. Kurnet Muraï had only been wished on us to keep George Foucart from digging it; and I knew of no where to start work there anyway. In fact, after Maspero's resignation and the war of 1914 to 1918 was over, the French Institute started excavations there with everyone's blessing. In 1912, when it was still ours though, I had a row with Ludwig Borchardt as to its boundaries, which were the limits of our concession and those of the Berlin Museum, but the Germans only dug there in the winter before the war. Afterwards it was the happy hunting ground of our friend Bisson de la Roque in its southern part around Kurnet Muraï, and of ourselves where it goes to the north around Sheikh Abd el Kurneh hill.

I remember the driven feeling I had in January, 1912, getting ready for Mr. Morgan who was going to arrive within less than a month. One day Norman de Garis Davies had told me that I had better stop off on my way up to the house we were building for the Expedition, to take a look at his work and see if I could give him any help. He had a man and two boys, and was trying to dig out several tons of dirt that had accumulated in the seven entrances to a colossal tomb which was on the north end of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh. As the house we were building was really quite close, on the north side of the Khōkheh hill, I was able to do it without any bother.

Davies and his Arabs would be there yet, I am afraid, clearing out the dirt and the rubbish which had accumulated in the tomb. Lepsius in 1844, Maspero in 1883, Budge's men clandestinely digging a few years later, Carnarvon in 1910, and Weigall who put the iron grilles over the eastern end of the portico—it seemed as if everyone had taken a try at finding something here. However, Davies' men had struck into some beautifully colored relief which was just the sort of

thing which I felt would take Mr. Morgan's eye. And as luck would have it, our men turned out of the Coptic rubbish, the very day the Morgan party came over to the west side of the river, what they insisted on calling a 'chariot'—a square bronze incense burner, with a lioness attacking a boar on the top.

There were at least eight big pieces of bas-relief from this tomb, which was that of a Vizir named Dagi, who had served King Neb-ḥepet-Rē Mentu-hotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty.¹ This Dagi, through the connection he had with the building of the Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple near by, procured the services of some of the best of the contemporary relief artists. Blocks from the walls of the entrance and first chamber of the tomb show work worthy of being classed with the reliefs from Neb-ḥepet-Rē's own temple or with those from Lisht which form so strong a part of the Museum's Egyptian collection. The tomb of Dagi, being one of the earliest decorated tombs in Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh, suffered more than the usual vicissitudes of its neighbors. The principal reliefs were on masonry walls, and not on the living rock of the hill as usual, and were therefore destroyed in the demolition of the walls in ancient times. So little was recovered, comparatively speaking, and that so scattered, that a reconstruction of the masonry was impossible, and the fragments were therefore divided between the Cairo and Metropolitan Museums.

¹ *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, VII (1912), p. 189. See also N. de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (1913), p. 28, Pls. XXIX-XXXVIII. *Service des Antiquités*, No. 103.

SEASON OF 1912-1913

Thanks to the then liberal policy of the Egyptian Government, the Metropolitan Museum Expedition had the opportunity of excavating at Lisht, Khārgēh Oasis, and Luxor, with an agreement for an equal division between the Cairo Museum and our own Museum of the material resulting from the work.¹ In this way we had been able to obtain the first of the extremely important material from the pyramids and the royal cemeteries of the Twelfth Dynasty at Lisht (about 2000 B.C.), from the palace of Amen-hotpe III at Luxor (1400 B.C.), and from the temple of Amūn in Khārgēh (400 B.C.), as well as other antiquities of great interest from the intermediate periods.

The work of 1912-13 required, from the nature of the site, a larger piece of clearing and a greater expenditure than the previous excavations. This was borne in part by the fund made available by Mr. Morgan and the Trustees, as in previous years, and in part by a fund given by Mr. Edward S. Harkness, a Trustee of the Museum.

Luxor, ancient Thebes, where our Expedition had been excavating for the last three years, lies on the Nile five hundred miles from the Mediterranean, in the center of a wide, fertile plain surrounded by high, rugged desert hills. From the natural advantages of its location it was destined to play a large part in Egyptian history. It is not surprising, therefore, to find its prince, Neb-ḥepet-Rē Mentu-hotpe, about 2060 B.C. becoming ruler of the whole Nile below Nubia. His successors, to strengthen their power, had to set up their capital nearer the northern Delta, but Thebes grew during the next five centuries, and in 1580 B.C. became the residence of the great conqueror kings of the flourishing period of the Empire. The city itself was on the east bank of the river where now is the modern town of Luxor—Arabic "the Palaces." Having been built on the Nile flood-plain, none but the least perishable of its buildings exist today—the gigantic temples of Karnak in Northern Thebes, and Luxor in Southern Thebes. There may have been suburbs on the western bank, but it is in the cemeteries to the west, on the dry desert, that most of the existing monuments of ancient Thebes are to be found. The palace of Amen-hotpe III which we have dug was to the south, beside its artificial lake. To the north of it began the necropolis, and the tombs extended for over three miles along the desert. The kings of the Empire were buried in hidden tombs back in the Valley of the Kings. Along the edge of the cultivation, in front of the necropolis,

¹ Synopsis of a lecture given at the Museum on Oct. 3, 1913; *Bulletin*, IX (1914), p. 11.

they built their mortuary temples—monuments in which posterity could see and admire their achievements, and where endowed colleges of priests could perform services in their honor.

One of the Museum's concessions lies in the heart of this district—a valley called by the Arabs the *ʿAsāsīf*—and this was chosen as the site of the work of 1912–13. The outstanding landmark of the neighborhood is the famous temple of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt, at Deir el Baḥri, built about 1500 B.C. Everyone who has been to Luxor remembers her terraces and colonnades, but what is not so familiar to them is the fact that beside them are the ruins of a temple over five centuries older, from which Ḥat-shepsūt's architect derived his inspiration. It is the temple and burial place combined of Neb-ḥepet-Rē, the prince who founded Theban power. For years it has been known that an avenue or causeway led up from the Nile valley to Ḥat-shepsūt's temple. To-day it is the tourist's carriage road leading from the cultivated fields of the valley. A century ago granite and sandstone sphinxes were still lying along its length, and about 1910 Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Howard Carter discovered at its lower end, near the cultivation, another temple—the beginning of the causeway and the propylea of the great temple above.² Processions from the valley entered the valley-temple and ascended the causeway to the main shrine above. Excavations on the pyramid temples of the Old Kingdom, and our own excavations on the Middle Kingdom pyramids at Lisht, built only a generation or two later than the Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple here, show that valley-temples and causeways were regular features of the early royal tombs. Neb-ḥepet-Rē must, then, have had a causeway and possibly another temple, and in 1912 we accordingly set out to find them.

In the *ʿAsāsīf*, whenever we wanted to get a general view of the whole field we had only to climb to the top of the Deir el Baḥri cliffs and we had stretched out, three or four hundred feet below us, the whole concession. From beneath us, past the then Cook's Rest House, and through Dirā Abu'n Nega hill, went Ḥat-shepsūt's causeway. To the right were three parallel lines of limestone chip, broken farther on by the late necropolis. These lines while always visible had never been explained, but in looking for the Neb-ḥepet-Rē avenue one could see their meaning. They started from the front court of the Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple. At the Saïte tombs, which rose prominently in the middle distance, the lines were broken, but beyond, the hills

² In 1932 Walter Hauser, of our Expedition, found a mid-way stopping place for the barque of Amūn, as it was being carried up to rest in the temple under the cliffs.

were cut away on both sides in exact line with them, right down to the cultivation. It can thus readily be seen why Ḥat-shepsūt's temple was at the side of the valley and why her causeway had to take a line which necessitated such extensive cutting in the hillside. Neb-ḥepet-Rē had previously taken that part of the valley where the grading was least arduous.

We decided, then, to begin our excavation at the bottom of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's causeway; find, if possible, the valley temple; and work up from it toward his main temple at Deir el Baḥri, dumping behind us along the cultivation. Before work was started, the ancient cut at the edge of the lower part of the causeway was visible, and among the trees there could be seen above the surface a large granite block which we thought might be part of the temple. We chose a point near here on the cutting, north of the causeway, where the bed rock showed in spots through an accumulation of sand and earth, and here our workmen were started.

Within a day or two stones were found in situ at the base of the cut, which were clearly similar to the stones in the boundary wall of Neb-ḥepet-Rē. We thought we had found an Eleventh Dynasty structure where one had not been suspected before, but we had to abandon it temporarily, for above it on a higher level we had encountered a network of mud-brick walls which proved to extend over this entire part of the site and which must first be studied, planned, and photographed before they could be removed. They proved to be tombs of the Ptolemaic Period dating from about 200 B.C. In all, we cleared nearly a hundred tombs of a little-known type. In a characteristic one the entrance was up the ramp, through a doorway now destroyed, and then down into a subterranean burial chamber under the brick vault beyond. On either side of the entrance were commonly two large pottery vessels in bins, in one of which we found a complete set of pots, water jugs, and lamps, while nearby there was a cup of blue faïence in perfect preservation. In many tombs the large pots bore painted designs derived from flowers and palmettes. We collected a dozen or more of these types which we can now date back several centuries earlier than they had previously been supposed to occur in Egypt. Other material found included a set of limestone Canopic jars with the heads of the four genii who protected the dead (pl. 89), and a painted marble stela of a man named Thūt-er-dis.

Eventually this Ptolemaic level was cleared away and the limestone wall previously mentioned began to appear, buried under an accumulation of rubbish from the hill. We cleared this wall for a

distance of one hundred and forty yards and found that while it was destroyed toward the cultivation to the eastward, it extended beyond the limit of our excavations this year to the west (pl. 68). The wall, which was found to be preserved to a height of 2.60 meters, was built of very fine-grained white limestone, laid in admirably regular courses, with builders' marks in red paint on many of the stones. Cleared thoroughly in this way, we could see just how the low hill had been cut through in grading the avenue. The rock had been attacked by gangs of quarrymen armed with chisels. Some of the gangs had cut in farther than others, and the face left is broken up into irregular bays, but it must be remembered that when the walls stood to their full height the cut would have been entirely hidden to passers on the causeway. The walls were here not only as boundaries—they were screens as well. Tombs which here had been cut into the face of the rock proved to belong to the period of the Empire—five hundred years later than Neb-hepet-Rē. Visitors to these tombs sometimes wrote their names on the parts of the wall exposed in their day, where we found them.

The circular depressions in the rock in the foreground (pl. 68) are among the most interesting finds of the season—or, in fact, of any of the recent excavations at Luxor. They are the mouths of pits cut into the rock, nearly thirty feet in depth and filled with rich black loam. The first of these which we found, with its filling of black earth, puzzled us, but later, as the clearing proceeded westward along the wall, we found similar pits at regular intervals of about 6 meters, and it then became apparent that they must have been for trees. The proof came as we got farther from the dampness of the cultivation. Then we found fragments of roots, and at last stumps. From there on, each hole was found to have in it the stump of a young tree surrounded by a low brick wall, a sort of tree box.

We had been so successful in fixing the north side of the causeway that it seemed advisable to split the force of workmen, one-half digging east and northeast, the other turning to the south where we had seen from the hilltop traces of the cut on the other side. This work to the south was successful in determining the cut, but before we could get down to the bottom we found the edges of a limestone pavement considerably above the level on which the wall was built. As this was soon found to be part of an unexpectedly large structure of later date blanketing the causeway, our search was delayed here; but in another season we expected to find walls here as we did on the north.

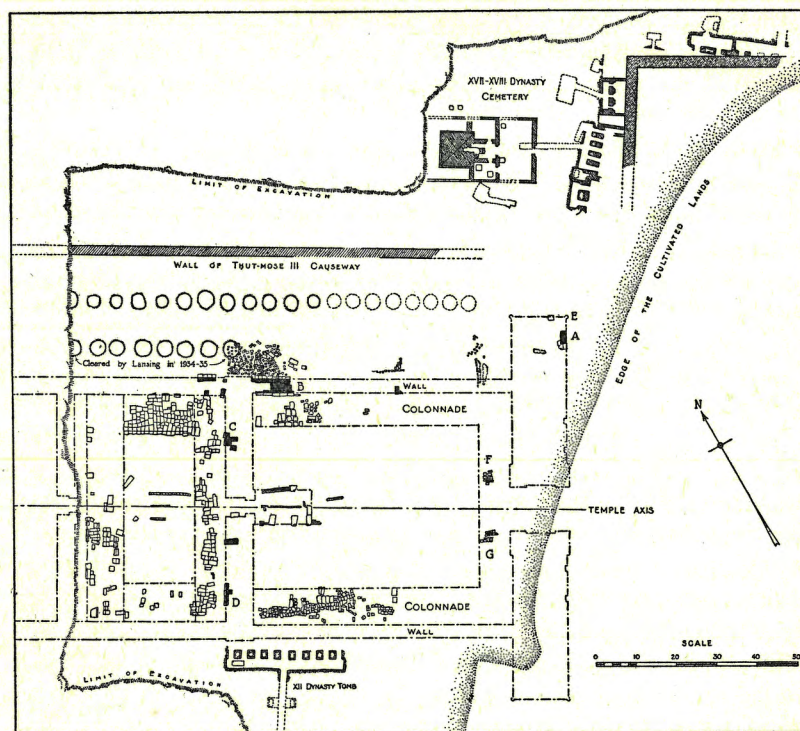


FIG. 1. THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1912-13

Another unexpected feature at this point produced an interesting part of our season's results. During the Middle Kingdom a large tomb with a portico had been cut in the face of the causeway-cutting on this southern side. The portico had collapsed, and the main burial chambers which descended to the south were found to be plundered and empty. Another shaft, however, in the floor of the portico, led to a chamber cut in a stratum of loosely cemented sandstone which had partly collapsed in ancient times, thus preserving its contents from the plunderers, and here were found pottery vases, two vases of blue marble, and a complete set of jewelry in silver, amethyst, lapis lazuli, and carnelian (pl. 34).

In our earlier work on the northern side of the causeway-cutting, we had suspected from the appearance of the surface before excavating that the cutting widened out near the cultivation, as the ruined walls on the map clearly show (fig. 1). Excavation which we now carried on at this point brought to light a small brick pyramid, with

its chapel, and a series of tombs, built against the face of the cut, thus proving that the cut was earlier than they were. Now one of the tomb-chapels against the cut still retained traces of Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty decoration. Others yielded pottery which we know to be typical of that period. Finally, we found a series of funerary cones, stamped with the names of the original occupants of the graves. One was of a high priest of Amūn, the Chancellor Thūty, who lived under Aḥ-mose I, first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty; and another was of a priest of Amūn, Amen-em-ḥēb, who lived under Amen-hotpe I. The known dates of this little cemetery are thus from 1580 to 1540 B.C., with the first tomb probably a little earlier.

Meanwhile, near the Twelfth Dynasty tomb on the south side of the causeway, we had found part of a small statue, in black granite, of Amen-em-ḥēt III of the Twelfth Dynasty. We know that his predecessors had placed votive statues in the great temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c above, where they were found when that temple was excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund. This statue of Amen-em-ḥēt, therefore, was undoubtedly one which he had placed in the valley temple of the same king, near the site of which it must have been when we uncovered it.

The Egypt Exploration Fund found statues of Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c, represented as Osiris, around the main temple above, when they cleared it. There is a battered torso of a similar statue lying on the surface halfway down the causeway, and we found fragments of others in our excavation, which had been there undisturbed since 1000 B.C., at least. There is every reason to believe, then, that such statues were placed at intervals along the causeway, just as we found them at Lisht in the causeway of S'en-Wosret I.

As to the valley-temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c, we concluded that it must lie just beyond the present edge of the desert, under what is now the cultivation. The reasons leading us to locate it here are three: first, the finding of the statue of Amen-em-ḥēt III nearby; second, the widening of the causeway at this point, suggesting the clearing of a level platform, broader than the causeway, as Ḥat-shepsūt had done for her valley-temple just to the north; and third, the presence of Middle Kingdom tombs in our excavations and, nearby to the north, in Lord Carnarvon's concession. At Deir el Baḥrī we noticed how the tombs of the great nobles of the Eleventh Dynasty are grouped about the amphitheatre of cliffs looking down on the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c. They were the tombs of his courtiers, surrounding the king in death as they themselves had in life. The group below, nearer the

cultivation, was doubtless of tombs of those who had died in later generations, under the Twelfth Dynasty.

Imagine, then, the magnitude of this structure of Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c, built before 2000 B.C. In those days the Nile valley was several meters lower than to-day, and the propylea—the valley-temple—now buried under the fields, was on the desert edge. Processions started there, and, passing through, ascended the avenue twelve hundred meters—three-quarters of a mile—to the temple proper. At intervals there were statues of the King represented as the God of the Dead, and on either side the long white walls leading up through hills and across valleys to the temple-forecourt.

Such was the state of things when we stopped work in 1913. We thought of this northern of four limestone walls which we had found almost full height, as one of four walls descending from the temple to the cultivation, and since all four were practically alike and uninscribed, we believed that they were the work of one builder. It was nearly twenty years later that I really began to recognize that there were two identical causeways here, each about 33 meters wide and both lined with practically identical walls three and one-half meters tall. The first causeway ascended to the Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c temple. The second led to a small shrine of Ḥat-Ḥor built by Thut-mose III in the northern part of that temple, toward the Ḥat-shepsūt temple and her causeway, which was an exact replica of that which Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c had built six hundred years before.³

To return now to the second important find of the excavations. You may recall the granite block among the trees which attracted our attention at the outset. It had evidently been part of some considerable structure and we thought possibly it might have been part of Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c's valley-temple. But in excavating you have to change your theories frequently, and this one did not survive more than a day or two, for under the granite block we found bits of relief of Ramesses II which made the block at least eight hundred years later than we had expected. Still, the slope of the block's surface—on the east toward the cultivation—showed it was part of a temple, and its undisturbed foundation showed that it belonged here. We were thus confronted with remains of still another monument of which the existence had not been suspected. Later, in digging for the southern side of the causeway, we found the limestone pavement mentioned above, and soon afterward the men uncovered a colossal

³ See p. 203 below.

red-granite lintel, plainly of Empire date. It is a single stone which must weigh fifteen tons, and has the sun's disk flanked by uraei sculptured on the front. As time went on, we found the entire field covered by foundations of a building of which these two stones were part. They formed such a well-defined layer that the workmen were put to clearing it completely before disturbing a single stone in its whole extent. Thoroughly cleared, we could see its relation to the Neb-ḥepet-Rē level by the accumulation of débris between his causeway and the new layer.

This layer resolved itself into two levels: a lower platform to the east, and a higher one to the west, connected by a temporary ramp for use in hauling up stones during the building. At the western edge of our excavation a second ramp was discovered, showing that we had to expect still a third and higher level in another campaign on this spot. These ramps were of sand, retained by brick walls at the sides, but before they had been built a line of bricks had first been laid straight across the site from east to west, and sections of this line of bricks we found preserved below both ramps. The line could have served no other purpose than as a preliminary base line down the center of the structure when the building was first laid out. As we went over the stones which the men were clearing, we began to find masons' marks made in laying out the structure—lines chiseled in the first course of stones to guide the laying of the next. Then we found we could differentiate between the massive foundations of walls—blocks weighing several tons apiece—and the thinner pavements. On the latter, incised lines were found as well, evidently showing the direction of rows of column bases.

To return now to the excavation plan (fig. 1). The granite block, A, had been found on the edge of the cultivation; and extending back as far as we dug were the foundations of walls and colonnades. The brick base line produced as the axis, is found to be parallel with all the other east and west lines. The position of the northern wall being given at B, and the axis known, the position of the southern wall can then be restored. This makes the width of the lower colonnades identical, and thus can be checked. The cross wall was definitely marked by the builders' lines at C and D. The façade being so completely destroyed, we were skeptical at first of being able to determine its extent. The granite block, however, turned out to be a clue of surprising usefulness. In the first place, its face was absolutely parallel with the other north-south lines; and in the second, the slope of its east side was that of Empire pylons or temple façades, and therefore

it may be taken as part of the façade, with certainty. Each of its ends, however, was a vertical joint, and therefore it was not a corner-stone. If we allow that another block of about the same size was placed to the north of it, we attain an approximate position of the corner at E. At F and G were colonnade foundations. If they were the same width as the north and south colonnades of this court, the inner face of the pylon would be as shown. While entirely hypothetical, these conclusions result in a plan of pylon typical of Empire temples. With this outline it only remained to examine the traces of the porticoes.

In all our study of the foundations of this temple we were guided by the neighboring temples of the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu. The latter, which is the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, built on the desert edge over two kilometers to the south, is fronted by an enormous pylon. Behind it are two courts surrounded by papyrus-bud columns, and square piers to the front of which are attached colossal Osiride statues of the king. The courts are raised one above another and communication is by sloping ramps. By comparison between Medinet Habu and the clues we have of our temple construction we got a pretty definite idea of what our temple should have been. The most striking thing was its size. It was half again as large as the largest mortuary temple in Thebes. And yet it reproduced faithfully—as far as we had dug—all the accepted elements of the Empire mortuary temple with one important addition, the front colonnade heretofore unknown before Ptolemaic times. In other details, where it differed from Medinet Habu—as, for instance, in the double rows of columns—it followed the Ramesseum. The parts still unexcavated in 1913 should have been, as at Medinet Habu, the hypostyle hall, the treasuries, and the sanctuary. Probably it was never completed entirely, and yet the walls must have been raised to a considerable height. But unfinished and abandoned, the temple was too tempting a source of supply of excellent building-stone to be neglected in later times, and the tools—mallets, chisels, and hoes—of later quarrymen, were found where they had been cutting down the building to the level as we found it. Considerably less than four centuries after it was built there could have been no trace of it visible, except the piles of chips which covered the site when we began to dig.

With the walls destroyed, settling the date of the temple became difficult. In 1913 we did not get to the sanctuary, where we might have found deposits in the foundations, giving the name of the king who built it. Of contemporary inscriptions, there were the dates

written on blocks by the quarrymen and builders, but they never gave anything except the days of the month. Yet we soon found that many of the stones built into the foundations of this temple had been taken from still earlier temples. Among them, for example, is a block originally from a temple of Thut-mose III, with part of a portrait of the great warrior king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, done with all the delicacy and precision of one of the strongest periods of Egyptian art. Other blocks had been taken from a temple of the successor of Thut-mose III—Amen-hotpe II—with the color preserved as freshly as when it was first painted. Another has written across its face the inscription of the workman who removed it. Of Ramesses the Great, we found much re-used material. In the western part of the structure were several enormous blocks of red Aswān granite, near the lintel-block previously mentioned, two of which proved to be parts of a sculptured doorjamb of Ramesses II, measuring together about 5 meters in height (pl. 69). They are excellent examples of the art of Egypt's greatest temple-building period and are of a size to show characteristically the colossal proportions of Egyptian construction. The relief, moreover, is of an admirable fineness for so hard a material. As evidence of the dating of our Asāsif temple they are especially important in having, at the bottom, cartouches added by Ramesses III, of the Twentieth Dynasty, who reigned from 1198 to 1167 B.C. The doorjamb still stood in its original position in a temple of Ramesses II, therefore, until after Ramesses III. From another monument of the Empire we found details of a scene representing the defeat of Asiatics (pl. 69). The block here shows arrows of the king slaying his fallen enemies. The colors are perfectly preserved and the block may be taken as one of the best specimens of the great imperial pictorial-relief yet discovered.

One block dated to the reign of Mer-en-Ptah was also found and many others of Ramesses III. Scattered through the foundations there were seven blocks of the latter—each weighing two tons or more—which proved to belong together, and, reconstructed in this way, restored the major part of a pedestal on which had originally sat a colossal statue of that king. On the front, priests offer libations to the king's name in cartouches. On the sides are the names of cities conquered by Ramesses III, written in ovals beneath the busts of captives.

Our temple of the Asāsif was, then, a mortuary temple built by some king after the death of Ramesses III, which took place early in the Twentieth Dynasty, after 1167 B.C. Now none of the kings

after the Twentieth Dynasty built mortuary temples in Thebes. The priest kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty, in all probability, were content with the temples at Karnak over which they ruled. The real Twenty-first Dynasty kings never ruled from Thebes, and their tombs and temples were at their new capital.

We are limited, therefore, to the Twentieth Dynasty for the builder here. Ramesses III's temple was at Medinet Habu, and the position of a temple of Ramesses IV is known in Lord Carnarvon's concession just to the north. From a contemporary papyrus we know that Ramesses V and VI were joint builders of a mortuary temple. But the builders of our temple had none of the attributes of their powerful ancestors except their ambition. They had planned to eclipse the glory of their temples in a generation when Egypt was at the end of its resources and the king's power was on the eve of being usurped by the priests.

At first, at the time of the excavations of 1913, our feelings were for one of the longer-reigned, later kings of the dynasty—Ramesses IX or Ramesses XII to whom over forty-five years are credited. However, in 1934 Lansing began the Theban excavations again, and he discovered sets of foundation deposits laid down when the temple was started, under the chambers to the west.⁴ All bore the name of Ramesses IV, who had begun a temple which Lord Carnarvon found just to the north, and who reigned only from 1167 to 1161 B.C. As these little objects were probably turned out by the thousands, it is possible that there were a great many of Ramesses IV on hand a few years later when his successor, Ramesses V, started his temple, between 1161 and 1157 B.C. This was perhaps continued by Ramesses VI, who was so pitiful a ruler that we know merely that he had succeeded to the throne.

The chief discoveries of the year were, first: the great causeway built by Neb-hepet-Rē Mentu-hotpe as an approach to this temple at Deir el Baḥri. In him we have the foundation of the power of Thebes and the final overthrow of the Old Kingdom. Second: the unfinished mortuary temple of Ramesses V and VI in whose days the weakened throne was passing into the hands of the priests absolutely, and Thebes' power as sole capital ceased forever.

⁴ Lansing, *Bulletin*, XXX (1935), November II, p. 4ff.

SEASON OF 1913-1914

During the season of 1913-14 the branch of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition at Luxor had for its object the complete clearing of the early Christian Monastery of Epiphanius on which a beginning was made two winters before.¹ On a site like the Theban necropolis, where almost every square yard has been occupied in one way or another for the past four thousand years, any spot may yield antiquities of any period from the Eleventh Dynasty down to the Arab Conquest. In digging out a tomb which had originally been made in the reign of Neb-hepet-Rē about 2050 B.C. and which had eventually been occupied by Christian anchorites contemporary with Epiphanius, about 600 A.D., we found objects left during several of the intermediate periods.

Among these there was a complete little set of writing materials as prepared for use by a scribe of the Middle Kingdom. It consisted of a palette, pens, two clean sheets of papyrus in a roll, and a ball of linen thread. The papyrus roll was tied to the palette, the ball of thread put in with them, and the whole then bundled up in a couple of long strips of linen rag for their protection when they were placed in the tomb.

The palette is a little board of some hard, dark reddish wood. There is a slot in the center from which a hole has been drilled lengthwise, down the middle, to hold the pens (pl. 30). On the upper end above the slot is a thick cake of black ink, exactly like India ink in appearance, with distinct marks where the dampened pens have been rubbed into it. There are four pens—three new ones, still unused, around which the papyrus had been rolled, and an old one, worn down and inky, in the palette. They are slender reeds, not more than 3 millimeters in diameter, with one end pounded and slightly frayed like a little brush. Both sheets of papyrus are about 23.5 centimeters wide, and one is 91 centimeters and the other 27.7 centimeters long. On the larger sheet there had been written a list or an account in hieratic, but when this writing set was made up it had been carefully sponged off with a damp rag to provide a clean sheet of paper. The little ball of linen thread was a necessary part of a scribe's outfit. Papyrus documents were always rolled, then tied with a thread, and over the knot was placed a seal stamped with a signet ring or a scarab.

¹ *Bulletin*, IX (1914), p. 181.

While writing, the Egyptian usually sat cross-legged on the ground with the papyrus unrolled across his knees. Like his descendant, the Arab letter-writer of to-day, he seems to have preferred not to write on a table, and the palette was therefore a very convenient way of keeping the ink handy. The lower end was grasped in the left hand, the end with the ink cake held uppermost, and the spare pens easily reached in the slot. With a cup of water on the floor at his right to moisten his pen, he had everything he needed.

For the rest, our time was largely taken up in the cells, the towers, and the underground granaries of the little Christian monastery. There we dug all winter, acquiring more of the material which is the subject of two large volumes of the Expedition's publications.²

² *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (1926), Vol. I by H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum; Vol. II by W. E. Crum and H. G. Evelyn White.

SEASONS OF 1914-1919

The first World War broke out in 1914, and Egypt was no place for a man with his wife and children. At first I worked in the Museum in New York, and later I was in the American army. Meantime, H. G. Evelyn White dug with a small gang in 1914-1915, for the most part continuing a job which he and I had begun at the palace of Amen-hotpe III.¹ Afterwards he served in the British army until he was invalided out, and then he began work on William G. Palmer-Jones's drawings of monasteries in the Wādy en Natrūn. During the second year of the war Ambrose Lansing was sent out to Egypt to dig for the Museum at Thebes. He dug out half of an enormous tomb which lay on the border of our concession and that of Lord Carnarvon at the foot of the Ṭasāsif. In 1916-1917 Lansing cleared the festival hall of the palace of Amen-hotpe III; in 1917-1918 he dug at the South Pyramid at Lisht; and in 1918-1919 he cleared the tomb of Pebes in the Theban necropolis.² In this year he also did a small job in the cliffs to the west of the tomb of Meket-Rē. Particularly this last excavation was so lucky that when I got to Egypt very early in 1920 our thoughts naturally went to the west. Lansing had a few more days of work in the valley where the royal cache had been found years before, and when that was finished I took over the men.

¹ White, *Bulletin*, X (1915), p. 253.

² Lansing, *Bulletin*, XII (1917), May, *Suppl.*, p. 7; XIII (1918), March, *Suppl.*, p. 8; XV (1920), July, II, p. 3; December, II, p. 4.

SEASON OF 1919-1920

I was very late getting started the winter after the first World War. It was January 8, 1920, when Lansing began digging and nearly a month later when I joined him in Luxor. His men were busy in the cliffs behind Sheikh Ṭabd el Ḳurneh when I got there, and as they cleared up the hillside and the space grew narrower and narrower, a few men at a time were moved to the last unexcavated part of the palace of Amen-hotpe III south of Medinet Habu. But since neither place yielded anything, some new site had to be picked out to retrieve what up to that point had been an unproductive season so far as antiquities were concerned.¹

There were plenty of places in our concession which were tempting enough, but they all required preparation and the hot weather was not far ahead of us. We had the temple site found in 1912-1913, but there it would be necessary to spend some two or three weeks moving enormous sandstone blocks which might be of value to the Service des Antiquités in restoring other ruins. This moving of blocks was started, but meantime a temporary job had to be found which would occupy us for a fortnight or more.

In the cliffs near where we had been digging there is a gigantic Eleventh Dynasty tomb which tempted us for various reasons. It had already been dug by Daressy in 1895 and by Mond in 1902.² Mond had laid bare some brick walls which we could see were evidently the gateway and lower part of a great causeway leading up the hill to the tomb entrance, but the greater part of the causeway still remained buried, and Daressy had only partially cleared the courtyard. When we found one block of frieze partly uncovered, the chance of finding other blocks of relief justified a short dig at this place. Then, too, we had the hope of finding some bits of historical inscription which would confirm or disprove the theory that the Kings Sankha-ka-Rē or Neb-tawy-Rē Mentu-hotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty had been buried in the valley which this tomb overlooks. A fortnight or three weeks with the gang we already had in the cliffs was judged enough time to dig out the courtyard and the bottom of the causeway; and a sort of archaeological conscience made us decide to re-clear the corridors and pits of the tomb so that we could draw the plan which our predecessors had neglected to make. Scientific

¹ *Bulletin*, XV (1920), December, II, p. 14. See also *Scribners Magazine*, February 1921, p. 208.

² *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, II, p. 133; VI, p. 77.

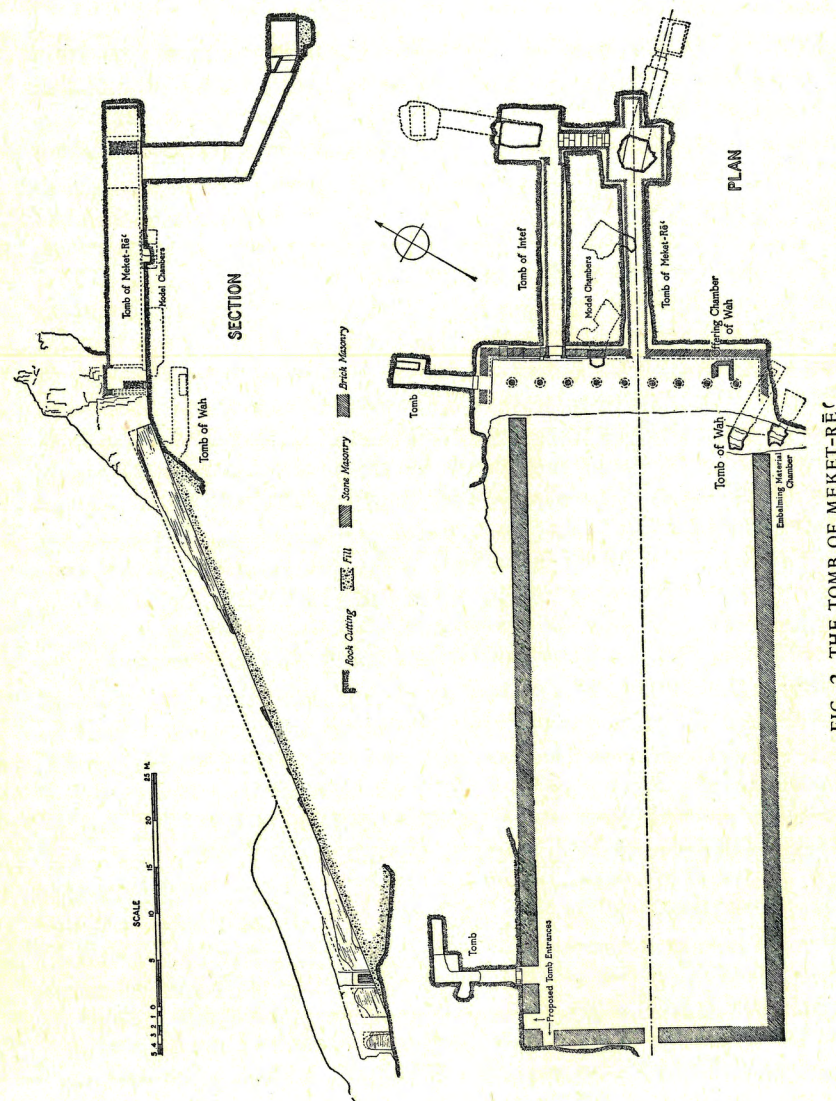


FIG. 2. THE TOMB OF MEKET-RÊ

virtue rarely gets such striking or such unexpected rewards as it did on this occasion. We did not find any important pieces of sculpture nor did we find any evidence on the historical question we wanted to solve, but the supposedly empty corridors gave us, of its kind, one of the great finds of recent years.

We know now that the tomb belonged to a very great dignitary of the late Eleventh Dynasty, about 2000 B.C., a Chancellor and Steward of the Royal Palace named Meket-Rê.³ He was born under Neb-hepet-Rê, in whose temple his name appears, and apparently survived into the succeeding reign.⁴ At court his influence must have been considerable, for he chose the choicest spot in the necropolis of his day, directly overlooking the place where his sovereign's own mortuary temple was being built.

The site is weirdly impressive. The great buttressed cliffs of tawny limestone practically enclose a deep circus a quarter of a mile in diameter. In the bottom are the almost obliterated traces of the avenue leading up to the supposed site of the mortuary temple of the last king of the Eleventh Dynasty. High above, around the rim of the circus where the cliffs start vertically upward, are the black mouths of the tombs of the courtiers. Meket-Rê had chosen the side of a mountain spur, grading the slope until he had an avenue 25 yards wide and 80 yards long which climbed the hill at an angle of 20°—an angle steep enough to get the average person in quite a puffy state by the time he has toiled up to the top (fig. 2). On either side of this avenue were solid brick walls, and at the top the ancient visitor would have been grateful for the shade of a long portico of eight-sided columns painted in imitation of granite. In the center of the portico there was the doorway of a lofty corridor, twenty yards long, leading back into the mountain to an offering chapel. Portico, corridor, and chamber, all were once upon a time lavishly decorated with sculptures on white limestone, the fineness of which was the undoing of the tomb, for it had served as a veritable quarry in later times until hardly a scrap of sculpture as large as the palm of one's hand was left. Nor had the hidden burial chamber fifteen yards under the chapel escaped pillage. The tomb builders had gone to enormous trouble to seal its door up with gigantic blocks of stone; but, as the walls were only a hand's breadth thick, the wily thieves had left the

³ Originally read by me Mehenkwt-Rê, "Gift of the Sun." Gardiner first suggested the alternative Meket-Rê, "Protected by the Sun."

⁴ Newberry called my attention to it in Naville, *XI Dyn. Temple at Deir el Bahari*, II, Pl. IX D. See below p. 118.

impregnable gateway alone and simply pushed a slab or two out of the side of the chamber and crawled in. For what little traces we found, their labors must have been amply repaid, for we discovered forgotten chips of the cedar coffin, gilded inside and out; the rest of which they had carted away.

Such was the original plan of the tomb, but there is a second great corridor beside the first, on the visitor's left as he climbs the hill. This also leads to a chapel—connected with the first chapel by a cross passage—beneath which there is another burial chamber on a scale comparable with the first. Here is a tomb within a tomb, yet apparently an afterthought in the plan; for it is off center from the causeway, and while it was to have been as elaborately finished as the original tomb, there are signs that it never was completed. Evidently it was to have been the last resting-place of a close relation of Meket-Rē^c, and those familiar with Egyptian literature will recall a certain Ja^cu—who lived very little earlier than this period, incidentally—who chose to be buried beside his father, in order that he might be with him every day throughout eternity.⁵ In the rubbish we found a fragment of a statuette and part of a statue base which had been made for a Prince and Chancellor In-tef. His titles are those of Meket-Rē^c, his statue base is the duplicate of the latter's, and Meket-Rē^c in his funerary models is generally accompanied by an individual who may well be his son and heir, In-tef, who constructed the second tomb beside his father's (pl. 30).

So much for the tomb as we knew it at the end of the excavations. The men began to clear the rubbish at the top and the bottom of the approach on February 25. The work went more slowly than we had anticipated, and it must be confessed that it was growing to be a pretty dismal disappointment, coming as it did on top of eight weeks of unproductive digging in the nearby valley. Wednesday, March 17, was the beginning of what we had decided would be our last week's work on the site. In six more days we hoped to get the passages cleared enough to make a plan and then move to the temple site, which was almost ready.

It was along toward sunset on that Wednesday that Burton came down from the mountain top where he had been photographing, to dismiss the workmen for the night. They had cleared out a good deal of fallen stone from the corridor, and when he went into the main entrance he found the air electric with suppressed excitement. One

⁵ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, par. 383.

of the men clearing away rubbish had noticed that the chips of stone trickled away from his hoe into a crack in the rock. He and the head-man of his gang scraped away more of the chips with their hands, and still more went sliding down into darkness. They had just decided that there must be some large opening behind the crack when Burton came along and struck a match to light up the darkness in the fissure.

A scribbled note which he sent down to the house found the rest of us just coming in from the day's work elsewhere, and we all went up to the cliffs, skeptically it must be confessed, but bringing the electric torches which Burton had written for. The sun had set, and as we filed into the gloomy corridor our skepticism seemed confirmed. There was nothing for us to see but a ragged hole in the rock between the floor and one side of the passage, but when one by one we lay flat on the ground and shot a beam of light into that crack one of the most startling sights it is ever a digger's luck to see flashed before us.

At first we hardly realized what we were looking into. It was getting late, and we were so surprised that the exact nature of the place was hard to judge. This much, however, was certain. We had found a small, totally untouched chamber crammed with myriads of little, brightly painted statuettes of men and animals and models of boats. Still there was nothing to be done at the time, and therefore we sent to the house for cords and sealing wax, and effectively sealed up the chink in the rocks and then went home to spend the evening guessing and theorizing on what we had seen and what was in store for us.

Thursday morning we started on what turned out to be three arduous days and nights. We realized enough of what was before us to make ample preparations. A room was cleared out in the house to hold whatever might be movable in the chamber; drawing boards and instruments, and mirrors and reflectors, were collected together and sent up to the tomb, and then Burton began to take a series of photographs beginning with one of the crack in the wall as the workmen had first found it. Here it may be said that the uninterrupted success of Burton's photography, taking exposures with sunlight thrown ninety or one hundred feet along the corridor from a mirror on to a silver paper reflector, was one of the most satisfactory things about those three days. The rock was in a most precarious condition, and our great fear was that fresh air entering into a chamber sealed almost hermetically for four thousand years would result in a crash of stone on the antiquities. A full record of every fact of the finding was our purpose, but no time was to be lost—and our haste was

justified, for rock fell daily from the walls and ceiling of the tomb.

The first photograph taken and developed, we dug in front of the crack and found a little pit scarcely waist-deep, cut in the floor of the corridor and filled again with stone chips. It was the filling with chips of the native rock which had so effectually hidden the place, for the mountain there is riven with multitudes of fissures, and the chips in the little pit seemed no more broken than the bed-rock itself. As we dug down we uncovered a mud-brick wall beneath the crack, and this we photographed and planned before we removed it, carefully brick by brick, breathlessly expecting the shattered rock round about to go tumbling into the chamber. Luck was with us, however, and at last we had an uninterrupted view inside (pl. 24).

Then we realized exactly what we had. The chamber was not, as we had at first surmised, a little burial chamber made for some relative or servant of the great man. In fact, it was not a burial chamber at all, but a little secret room in which equipment of Meket-Rē himself was placed. Over five hundred years before his day it had been the custom for the tombs of the wealthy to contain such a chamber—called by the modern Arabs the "sirdāb"—in which the dead man's statue was walled up. Later it had been the custom to put beside the statue a few figures of servants at their daily tasks, eternally preparing food and drink for the dead owner of the tomb. Gradually these servants had been multiplied, and the statue of the man himself been made smaller until at last his figure had been reduced to the same scale as the servants. The latter were now grouped in models of workshops or on boats, performing their tasks, and the master's statue had become a figure in the tableau, watching the work done for him. The spirits of the little model workmen and the spirits of the food they produced eternally supplied the spirit of the little statue, and that was the soul of the dead man. The idea was universal. Every one who could afford it purchased such models to be piled around his coffin, and to-day every museum possesses a few. What was important in this case was the fact that Meket-Rē was a person of great wealth who, to duplicate the bountiful existence he had led in this world, had supplied himself with a larger series of such models than has ever survived to modern times.

The story of how each model was removed from the chamber would be too long for this place. It took us three days of hard work. Burton and his camera were busy from early morning until about four o'clock each afternoon when the rim of the high cliffs cut off the sunlight from his mirrors. Before anything was touched in the chamber he

took a general view to show how falling stones had up-ended one of the boats and capsized another near the door. Then as each one or two models were removed he took another of those behind, which had now come into view, until the last picture showed the model shops and houses and gardens which had been stacked in first against the back wall. As each photograph was finished, Lansing and I planned the chamber and the location of each model and gave it a number. In this task we enlisted the help of M. Lacau, the Directeur Général du Service des Antiquités, who happened to be in Luxor and whom we asked over to see the objects in position.

The reader may wonder why so much labor should be spent in the cramped little chamber where one's head banged against the ceiling every time one forgot and stood upright. The answer is that no one can foretell what questions may arise in the minds of other students who did not have the luck to see the models in place. For example, it has been suggested that the boats sailing upstream should be placed with their prows to the south and those rowing down with their prows to the north. The photographs and the plan make it possible for the archaeologist at home to answer the question to his own satisfaction. And then there was another and more immediately practical value to our labors. As has been said, the rock in which the little chamber was quarried is badly fissured and from time to time fragments had fallen from the ceiling upon the models. They were of wood, the figures glued and pegged in place, and whenever a particularly large piece fell upon them little men and oxen were shattered and scattered around. The damage so done was remarkably slight, for most breaks could be repaired, but without the plans and photographs it would have been very difficult to get every man back to his proper place. As each model boat was removed, all of the nearby fragments were gathered up with it and then when it came to repairing, if any piece was missing, the plan was consulted to see what boats had been alongside, and among them a search was made for the lost bits.

When all of the models were thus re-assembled we could feel confident that we had every model once more in the state in which it was four thousand years ago; and incidentally we thus discovered some very interesting facts about their history. In the first place, there were two figures which could not possibly belong to any of the models in the chamber. The presence of one could be readily accounted for. It had fallen through the crack which we first discovered, probably after the plundering of the tomb of Prince In-tef. At least we found

one of its arms outside in the tomb court. The other figure was too far back in the chamber to have fallen in, and for some time we were puzzled as to how it had got there. When we came to take a final survey of all the models, however, we found that an arm was missing from one of the fishermen; the masts of several boats had been wrenched off and were piled up near the door, and some of them were broken and burnt with parts missing; and on many of the models there were fly-specks, the gnawings and droppings of mice, and cobwebs with dead spiders still in them. Now there had never been fire in the chamber, and there was no trace of spiders, flies, or mice on the floor. They were only on the models themselves. Taken all together, these facts could be explained only by supposing that Meket-Rē' had purchased his funerary models some time before his death and had stored them in an unused room in his house, full of mice and spiders and flies, and that in this room was kept another set of models from which the stray figure was taken by mistake when this set was carried to the tomb. Possibly the models stayed in the house for several years, when not only did the flies and spiders and mice nest in them but even the children may have sneaked in and played with them, and they were the ones who had broken and burnt the masts, and lost the arm off the fisherman.

We kept the chamber sealed except when we were there ourselves, and we can guarantee that no one ever entered it without our knowledge. Nor did any one ever touch the models in the chamber except Lansing and myself, and we always had soft handkerchiefs over our hands. But when we got them into the light every one of them was marked with finger- and thumb-prints—the traces left by the men who had carried them up to the tomb from the house in Thebes four thousand years ago and left them there for their long rest. One boat with mast and sail set had been the last one put in the chamber. When the masons had come to block the door up, it had been in their way and one of them had lifted it up and put it to one side on top of the model granary, smearing it up where he touched it with hands muddy from mixing clay mortar.

For three days, each noon and evening a procession of workmen went down from the cliff carrying tray-loads of models until at last all were safely under lock and key. Then began two months of work upon them. The house was turned into a regular laboratory. Since half of the models had to go to the Cairo Museum and half to the Metropolitan Museum, it was necessary to sort out all of the figures and repair them before they were separated, and it was desirable to

photograph them all uniformly. As each object was cleaned of dust and chips of stone and mended it went into the photographic room and stood before Burton's camera and then to Hall who measured, planned, and drew it. In all, over one hundred drawings and details were finished before the carpenters came and made the boxes in which the models traveled to their respective destinations.

Most of Meket-Rē's twenty-four models are pictures from daily life, not from that purely religious or mystical thought which inspired the making of tomb furniture of only a generation or two later. Only three of the models have anything to do with the tomb. On either side of the chamber stood the statues of two girls dressed in fancifully colored garments, bringing offerings to the tomb—one with a basket of wine jugs, and the other with a basket of meats and breads upon her head, and each with a live duck in her hand (pl. 25). They are carved of wood, half-life-size and practically as perfect as the day they were made. Another little group of four figures on a single pedestal represents a priest bringing his censer and libation vase, a man with a pile of bed linen upon his head, and two girls carrying geese and baskets of food.

All of the rest of the models picture the life which Meket-Rē' had lived in this world and the one he expected in the next.

Largest and most imposing of all was a model showing the counting of his cattle (pl. 26). The scene is laid in the courtyard before his house, overlooked by a porch with four brightly colored columns in front. Here he sits, with his son and heir squatting on the floor on one side, and four clerks on the other, each busily recording the count on a papyrus roll. On the porch and on the steps stand his butlers and stewards, and in the courtyard facing the porch the chief herdsman bows and salutes his lord as he reports. In front there is a waving of sticks and arms as the other herdsman lead and drive past the beeves—red, black, piebald, and speckled. The carving of the little figures, averaging about eight or nine inches high, can scarcely be said to be on a high artistic plane but there is truth and observation, movements are correctly caught, and with all the brilliancy of the colors there is a liveliness and a cheerfulness that many more formal Egyptian works lack.

Next in the life history of the ox is the stable where he is fattened. In one room the stall-fed beeves are lined up at the manger; in the other the already fat animals are being fed by hand, and one has so nearly got to his limit that he lies upon the floor while a cowherd stuffs food into his mouth. Finally comes the scene in the slaughter-

house. The beeves have been led into a columned hall, two stories high and open to the air high up on one side. They are thrown on the ground and trussed up for butchering; a scribe with pen case and papyrus roll is present to keep the accounts; a head butcher superintends the killing and two men make blood puddings over braziers in the corner. On a balcony at the back the joints of beef hang on lines to ripen.

Baking and brewing are next shown. At the granary the ever present clerks sit in the courtyard with papyrus rolls and tablets keeping the account, while two men scoop up the wheat in measures and load it into sacks, and others carry it up the stairs to dump it into three capacious bins (pl. 27). By the front door there sits a boss with cane in hand superintending the work and watching that no one leaves before the time is up. Then comes the bakery and brewery combined in one building. In the first room two women grind the corn into flour and a man makes it into cakes of dough, which another treads into a mash in a barrel. Nearby, the rising mash stands in four tall crocks while the yeast ferments, and when it has finished working, another man pours it into a row of jugs which stand along the wall. In the other room is the bakery. Men are cracking the grain with pestles; women grind the flour; men mix the dough and make fancifully shaped loaves which others bake in ovens.

The women spin and weave in one shop and the carpenters ply their trade in another. In the weaving shop three women prepare the flax and put it into buckets for three others who spin it, standing with their distaffs in their left hands and turning their spindles with their right hands against their knees. When the spindles are full they stretch the newly spun thread out on three pegs on the opposite wall. Meanwhile, other women work two looms stretched out on the floor. The carpenters' shop is a half-roofed-over court with a furnace for sharpening tools and a tremendous tool chest full of saws, adzes, chisels, and drills beneath the shed. Around the sides of the open court squat gangs of carpenters squaring great timbers with adzes and smooth-surfacing them with blocks of sandstone. In the middle of the court a sawyer has lashed a balk of timber upright to a post while he rip-saws it down into boards, and another carpenter sits astride a plank cutting mortise holes in the edge with mortising chisel and mallet.

Two model gardens were unique, so far as our experience of Egyptian antiquities goes (pls. 26-27). Just as when we make a child's doll house we leave out lots of details like stairways and put all of our

attention on the more important and showy rooms, so the ancient model-maker has devoted all his pains to those parts of the house and garden which would most delight the heart of his patron. There is the high wall which shuts out the outside world. Within, a little oblong pool—of copper so that it will hold real water—is surrounded by fruit trees, and facing it is a cool, deep porch with gaily painted columns. At the back of the porch a great double state-doorway with a fanlight above, a smaller door for everyday use, and a tall latticed window give a semblance of the façade of the house itself. The trees, made of wood, have each little leaf carved and pegged in place. The fruit is not growing from the twigs, but from the main stems and branches, so that there shall be no doubt but that the sycamore fig is intended.

A great man like Meket-Rē^c would be required to journey up and down the river to administer his scattered estates and to fulfil his duties in the king's administration. Travel, as always in Egypt, was by boat, and a man of high rank would have owned his own vessels for travel and others for pleasure. Half the models we found, therefore, are ships and boats to fulfil the needs of Meket-Rē^c in a future state which was to be but a repetition of his mortal life. He lived a generation or two before the new cult came into Upper Egypt which required a man to prepare a mystic barge to accompany the Sun on its journeys, and it is doubtful whether he even intended any of these boats to represent his funeral float. They are, in fact, models of the every-day ships which plied up and down the river four thousand years ago.

There are four traveling boats—thirty- or forty-footers supposedly, but in the models about four feet long—with crews of from twelve to eighteen besides helmsmen, bowsmen, and captains. Going up river with the prevailing northerly wind, they set a great square sail, and we see the little sailors making fast the back-stays and hauling on the halyards (pl. 28). Coming down the river with the current against the wind, the mast was lowered in a rest, the sail stowed on deck, and the crew got out the sweeps. They start their stroke with one foot on the thwart in front, and then all together heaving on their oars, they end it sitting on the thwarts behind them. Meket-Rē^c sits in his chair at his ease smelling a lotus bud (pl. 30), with his son beside him on one side and a singer on the other, patting his mouth with his hand to give his voice a quavering, warbling sound. In one case the singer is accompanied by a blind harper whose harp sits in a little wooden stand between his knees. A sort of humorous fidelity inspired the

maker of these ships. In the cabin of one sits a cabin steward beside a bunk under which are tucked two little round-topped traveling trunks very much like those of a generation ago.

The river boats of those days were none too large and cooking meals upon them would have been too much of a nuisance for the great man. The kitchen, therefore, was upon a second boat which followed behind and was moored alongside at meal times (pl. 29). On board women ground flour; men baked—sometimes standing in the dough vat and kneading with their feet while they rolled loaves with their hands; and in the cabins joints of meat were hung up and racks of beer and wine jars were stowed.

For shorter trips and pleasure sails there were yachts—long, narrow, green vessels with high curling prows. If the wind was favorable, they stepped the mast and set a square sail like that of the traveling ship. When the wind was contrary, mast and sail were lowered, and sixteen members of the crew got out their black, spear-shaped paddles to propel the boat. On these boats there was no room for a sleeping cabin, and the master and his son sat under a little open canopy (pl. 28).

There is a little, narrow, light-draft skiff for hunting birds and spearing fish in the backwaters. In the bow stand harpooners and the enormous fish struck by one is being landed over the gunwale. Lashed to the side of the cabin are the poles and stakes for bird nets and a boy and a girl are bringing live ducks which they have caught, to the master and his son who sit on deck. Finally, there are two reed canoes drawing a seine full of fish. Two men paddle each canoe, amidships of which stand the fishermen who haul the net and the helper who lands the fish (pl. 29).

One great interest of these models is the information they supply on rigging and sailing. In the first place they were originally very complete and accurate, and in the second place they are so well preserved that most of them still show ropes and knots intact. For instance, the steering oar can now be studied fully for the first time. The summer following the discovery of these models I created no end of excitement on the Maine coast by rigging up a New England dory with an exact replica of an Eleventh Dynasty steering gear. Two great oars were made like those on the yachts; rudder posts were erected; and the oars put in place. The ends of the oar looms were bound to the tops of the rudder posts with loose lashings, and others held the oars down to the rests aft and kept the blades under water. Lines with clove-and-half-hitches about the oar looms near the blades were

brought inside the stern and made fast. They took all of the strain off of the rudder posts when under way. Tillers through the oars, descending vertically, rotated the oars on their axes. To steer, you threw the tiller, like a modern one, in the direction opposite to the one you wanted to go. The oars were turned over and, their under sides making a drag in the water, the bow turned smartly, if the boat had even moderate way on. Every rope was found to have its purpose and even the size of the oar and its distance aft of the turning point of the boat were seen to have been carefully thought out.

The supposedly exhausted corridors of the tomb of Meket-Rē^c had yielded a veritable treasure which justified our clearing its causeway and courtyard more thoroughly than we had at first intended. During the week that we were moving the models we brought the gang up from the palace and, thus reinforced, the workmen were turned into the parts of the courtyard which had every appearance of having been dug before. But again our luck was with us for, right on the edge of our predecessor's excavations at the top of the causeway, we found on the following Wednesday the little untouched tomb of a servitor of the great man, named Waḥ. In a place where the rock begins to descend sharply, Waḥ had had a little slope cut leading into a tunnel about twenty-six feet long, and five and a half feet high and wide. The entrance, when we discovered it, was still securely blocked with mud bricks and when we had photographed them and taken them down we could see his coffin standing at the back undisturbed.

Everything was exactly as the priests had left it four thousand years ago. Just inside the doorway lay a few wisps of burnt straw—ashes as impalpable as those of a cigarette—which had dropped from a torch burnt at the time of the funeral. Carelessly thrown to one side was a pall of white linen with which the coffin had been covered when it was brought up the hill, and passing under the coffin itself lay the three strips of linen with which the pall had been tied, unknotted and dropped to either side. Just as it had fallen at the foot of the coffin lay the knob of wood with which the lid had been lowered and which the undertakers sawed off, once the lid was pegged in place. On the side of the coffin near the head were painted the eyes through which the dead man could look out on to the world, and in front of this "window" had been deposited twelve conical loaves of bread, the right fore-leg of a beef, cut off as the dead man's share of the funeral banquet, and a jug of beer. The beer jug was of exactly the same shape as those in the model brewery of Meket-Rē^c and had been

stoppered, as those were represented as being, with a ball of clay. But the beer had worked, shot the stopper off in one direction and rolled the jug over the opposite way, and where it had spilled on the floor there was a hard dried crust.

Wah was a person of no very great importance, and his funerary equipment was not elaborate, but so perfectly was everything preserved that we could hardly grasp the eternity that it had lain buried. When the lid was raised from the coffin we found it filled right up to the top with sheets of linen. One was nearly 26 meters long and almost 2 meters wide, beautifully ironed, and starched apparently with some sort of gum. Several others bore Wah's name and a date—marked as household linen is to-day, in ink in the corner.

All over the last sheet put in on top, the priest had smeared aromatic gum with his bare hand, leaving his finger prints distinctly showing where he had wiped them off. Farther down among the sheets lay three new, unused quarter staves, oiled just as the natives oil their quarter staves in Upper Egypt to-day. Finally, as we raised the last sheet the mummy of Wah was disclosed, lying on his side with a gilded mask upon his head, facing toward the two eyes on the outside of the wooden coffin. Below his feet lay two sandals; in front of his face was a copper mirror; under his head was a wooden pillow; and beside it lay a small lump of rosin. The most attractive object in the tomb was his statuette—a little wooden figure about thirteen inches high which lay beside the mummy's feet (pl. 30). As first we lifted it out of the coffin very gingerly, it almost seemed as though the varnished paint was fresh and would come off on the handkerchief with which we touched it.

All of the contents of the little tomb of Wah except a sample of the sheets and of the bread fell to the share of the Metropolitan Museum in the division with the Egyptian Government. Of the models from the "sirdāb" of Meket-Rē, one of the girls bringing offerings to the tomb, the counting of the cattle, the carpenters' and weavers' shops, one of the gardens, and six of the boat models including the canoes seining, are now in the National Museum in Cairo. The other girl bringing offerings, the procession of four offering bearers, the stalled oxen and the butcher shop, the granary, the combined bakery and brewery, and the remaining six boats are in the Metropolitan Museum.

SEASON OF 1920-1921

The little valley where we had worked in 1920 was a weirdly romantic place even for Thebes.¹ In the season the tourists, either by twos and threes or in the big, conducted parties with their crowds of galloping little donkeys and lines of creaking carriages, with their clouds of dust and their yelling donkey boys, passed it by unnoticed as they swarmed in an invading horde to the temples of Deir el BaĦri and Deir el Medīneh or to the tombs of Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh. The natives had little reason to visit it, and year after year a fox or two coming down to the green fields just before sunset or a passing guard were the only creatures to see its desolation. Curiously enough, even in the days of Thebes it was deserted, although all around it the hills teemed with the life which paradoxically inhabited the city of the dead—the priests and caretakers, the builders and artists, and the mourners and thieves who infested the tombs. Once only did the valley itself share to any extent in this life, and that was four thousand years ago.

Chancing to ride through the little valley one afternoon in the spring of 1914 I stumbled on a clue to its history. The winds and the rare cloudbursts of the Theban hills through forty centuries had been giving the place its desert look, but down in the bottom of the valley at the foot of the towering cliffs, there was still to be seen a flat, rocky platform and leading up to it, a sloping embankment that could be traced with more or less certainty along the hillsides to the green fields of the cultivation near the Ramesseum (pl. 23). Around the rim of the valley the gaping mouths of tombs looked down upon the platform, and when one crawled into them—to the consternation of the swarms of bats who had long found undisturbed sanctuary in their gloom—every tomb turned out to be of the type we were learning to recognize as of the Eleventh Dynasty.

The founders of the Eleventh Dynasty were a family of insurgents who carved out a little kingdom of their own around Thebes. Since their revenues were not large, their tombs on the desert plain opposite Karnak were never very imposing. Eventually, one of their number, a certain Mentu-hotpe, called Neb-hepet-Rē, gave the death blow to the tottering kingdom of the North and with his increased riches was able to enlarge his tomb-temple under the cliffs. Edouard Naville discovered this in 1903 and, leading up to it from the cultivation

¹ *Bulletin*, XVI (1921), November, II, p. 29.

through the valley of the 'Asāsīf, was the causeway which we found in 1913. The surrounding hillsides the king parceled out among his courtiers, each of whom built a tomb that faced upon the avenue. Evidently the tomb of S'ankh-ka-Rē' Mentu-hotpe must have been in the deserted valley with which this story begins, for the embankment along the hillsides could be nothing but an avenue like that leading to the Deir el BaĦri tomb-temple just referred to; the flat platform under the cliffs was the foundation for a mortuary temple; and we had even the tombs of the contemporary nobles looking down from the surrounding hillsides.

Unfortunately the first chapters of our story dragged interminably. The first phase of our work was to finish the tombs of the courtiers. We began beside the tomb of Meket-Rē' because we were certain that under the tumbled piles of rock and sand from the cliff there was another tomb. We were quite right, but when the men got the entrance cleared out we found that it had never been finished and that it was absolutely empty. The gang was moved along the hillside to another tomb that stood open as had the tomb of Meket-Rē'. The first few days were unexciting and then suddenly some of the men clearing the floor of the court in front found that the rock was cut vertically downwards. The mouth of an enormous pit showed up filled with clean white chips of limestone that had evidently been there undisturbed since the Eleventh Dynasty. The workmen realized well enough what that might mean, and even from our house we could see how they kept the basket boys on the run all day long, throwing the clattering chips of stone over the cliff. That night five of the men slept on the spot, and all of us studiously avoided letting our conversation get too optimistic for fear of tempting Providence. We must have done it though, because as I went out to the work in the morning I could see from away off the basket boys despondently dawdling along and no more white chips coming over the cliff. The pit had never been finished, and the five guards had spent the night watching over a dozen basket-loads of chipped stone that had hidden the fact from us the night before. The tomb itself yielded us the name of its Eleventh Dynasty owner—Si-Anḥūret, The Steward of the Inner Palace—and some shawabti figures of a queen of a much later period, but that was all. In the course of the season we explored all of the hillside tombs looking down on the platform, but more than half were unfinished, and all the rest had been thoroughly plundered.

The real objective, however, was the platform itself. Basing our theories on the temple at Deir el BaĦri, we reasoned that at the back

of a large courtyard there should be a temple with a royal tomb in the rear. It had probably never been finished, and the surrounding tombs had often been left incomplete. However, one of the two short-reigned kings who might have been the builder, Neb-tawy-Rē' Mentu-hotpe, had left a remarkable series of inscriptions in the granite quarries of the far distant Wady Hammāmāt to tell posterity of the marvels that happened while his workmen were quarrying out his sarcophagus there, and this sarcophagus was what we hoped to find.

As a guide in the excavation of the site an accurate survey was started. From the rock cuttings Hauser was able to establish the causeway axis, to survey it up to the platform, and mark it on the surface by pegs. This we took for the center line of the whole monument, on which we expected to find the royal tomb itself. Some years before, Robert Mond had dug on the site and had found a tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty type, but instead of its tunnel being five hundred feet long like the royal tomb at Deir el BaĦri it was scarcely seventy, and the chamber was built of limestone in place of granite. Hauser's survey now showed that it was considerably to one side of the axis. A tomb of just this size and in a corresponding position to one side of the temple axis had been made for one of the king's wives in the Deir el BaĦri temple. Therefore, we adopted the hypothesis that the Mond tomb was that of a queen and started our search for the king's own tomb.

Over two hundred men and boys dug away the masses of rock and sand that had fallen from the cliffs and the rubbish piles of Mond's excavations. Day after day the little iron cars trundled along the rails, and our dump in the valley grew longer and longer. We found the level floor cut in the soft shale. We cleared a trench which was to have been the foundation of a temple wall that was never built. A dozen small pit tombs turned up one after another, and nearly every day we found some stray scrap from the funerary furniture of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs.

But that was all. Mond's tomb, being the only important one found on the platform, must be that of the king. That it is off center we must lay to a change of the temple axis made to economize grading. That it is incomparably smaller than the royal tomb at Deir el BaĦri must be because it was hastily finished at the death of the king. Nowhere have we found the king's name, but the unfinished state of his monument makes it evident that he was the last of his line, after whom the new dynasty moved the capital to Lisht. Even on the

question of whether the king was actually buried here or not we felt in some doubt. We found the tomb surrounded by a low brick wall as though the place had been held sacred; above the tomb entrance a funeral sacrifice of five bullocks had been made and their heads and forelegs buried on the spot. However, the tomb chamber as Mond found it yielded practically no funeral furniture, and this in spite of the fact that the door had never been opened and that the tunnel by which thieves had broken in was so small and crooked that no stone sarcophagus could ever have been brought out through it, and even a wooden coffin could have been extracted only piecemeal.

The few pits around the edge of the platform had been dug for the graves of the king's followers. About four hundred years later they were reused, a few more were dug, and a little brick house was built to shelter the guardian who looked after them (pl. 23). It was as lonely a spot then as it is to-day, and he tried to enliven its desolation by starting a little garden in his front yard with earth which he brought up from the fields. Another four or five centuries went by, and again for a few years the less prosperous citizens of Thebes used these old pits. One tomb we found just as the undertakers had left it after blocking its door with stones. Four women had been buried there successively, and as each newcomer was brought down the pit for her everlasting rest her undertakers had taken the occasion to drag her predecessors out of their coffins and break up their furniture in search for valuables. Finally, the last occupant was brought down; a spot cleared out in the corner of the room; baskets, wigs, coffins, and pitifully maltreated mummies brushed aside; and his coffin left there (pl. 80). Had the people who so ghoulishly robbed and destroyed these bodies been modern Arabs or even ancient thieves, it would have been one thing; but in each case they were men whose livelihood was made by persuading the families of the dead to spend their substance on the very things they were robbing them of. The last occupant of the tomb was a man named Yotf-Amūn, "Charioteer to the General,"² and in his coffin we found his whip broken in three pieces and tied up in its own lash. There was nothing about him to suggest that he was not an Egyptian, and yet in most un-Egyptian manner he had a full and bushy beard. In his day horses and chariots had long been used in Egypt, but it was still remembered that they had first come from Asia, and probably the best horses and the most skillful drivers were foreigners still. The Asiatics always wore beards,

² The inner coffin was originally made for a "Priest and Sculptor of the Temple of Amūn-Rē, Nesit-Amūn."

and here was an Egyptian charioteer imitating them. It makes one think of the days of horses and carriages in this country, when the most stylish coachmen were English and fashion decreed that even those of Yankee birth should copy the English style of side-whiskers.

Meanwhile, one day walking up to the work I was airing my views to Hauser on what I considered a fundamental error into which Naville had fallen in his excavations. During the whole of his first season's work his men had found fragments of inscriptions naming a King Neb-ḥepet-Rē Mentu-ḥotpe, called "Horus who unites the Two Lands"—the North and South of Egypt. Now while it was already known that the first king of the Eleventh Dynasty ruled over the South only, there was plenty of evidence that Neb-ḥepet-Rē actually did rule the whole of Egypt. Naville, therefore, took the king's title literally and announced the discovery of Mentu-ḥotpe "the Second," the first of the Theban kings to reunite the Two Lands. In his second winter's work he found fragments of inscriptions naming, as he thought, another Mentu-ḥotpe with a confusingly similar throne-name—again to be read Neb-ḥepet-Rē though written a little differently. Since he too seemed to rule over the whole of Egypt, and since Neb-ḥepet-Rē had been credited with the reunion of the country, this new king was made his successor. Actually we now know that the two names were pronounced exactly alike and that there was only one King Neb-ḥepet-Rē.

Naville's excavations laid bare the whole of the temple of the Eleventh Dynasty at Deir el Baḥri (fig. 3). There was a ramp leading up to a platform through two storeys of colonnades, to the temple door. In the center of the temple rose a pyramid, with a columned ambulatory round about, through which one passed to an open peristyle court with the king's subterranean tomb in the center, and thence to the hypostyle hall with the sanctuary at the back. The name of Naville's "Mentu-ḥotpe Third" was found only on six little ruined shrines at the back of the ambulatory—but the ambulatory wall was built on top of these little shrines, and over some of the pits belonging to them in the peristyle court stood columns of the temple.

In short, the work of Naville's "third king" was *under* the work of his "second," and some explanation of this topsy-turvy state of affairs was necessary. It did not occur to Naville that he had made a mistake in the order of the cartouches, and he and his collaborators put forth several theories attempting to show how the temple had been partially demolished to "insert" the shrines and pits under the walls and columns. However, the Egyptian, so far as we know him,

would not have chosen to put the shrines under the walls nor would he have chosen such inconvenient places for them behind columns or tucked away in the corner. Therefore, for us, the shrines existed before the temple, and in this we felt confirmed by the fact that the style of the shrine sculptures was more archaic than that of the temple sculptures.

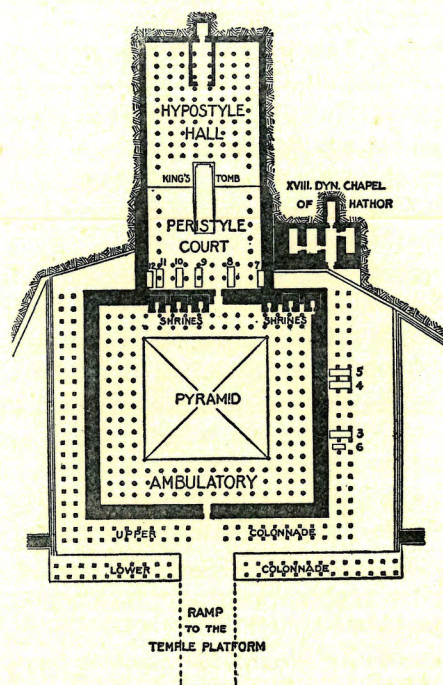


FIG. 3. THE NEB-ḤEPET-RĒ' TEMPLE AFTER NAVILLE

So far, of course, the problem was purely historical, but at this point it became one of practical, diggers' archaeology. I had often been over it before, but this time while Hauser and I were discussing it on the spot, it occurred to us both that if our predecessors had been working from such false premises, they might have missed something worth while, and we hurried home to analyze their book with that in view.

Naville's plan shows at the back of the ambulatory the foundations of the six shrines or miniature chapels built to house the funerary statues of six ladies of the royal harīm. He had found enough fragments of their walls to show that the three shrines to the south were

built for the Princesses Henhenit, Kemsit, and Kawīt, and the three north for Sadeḥ, Ḥashayet, and Mayet.³ In the peristyle court, on the other side of the wall, his plan shows six grave pits, of which three (Nos. 9, 10, and 11), behind the three southern shrines, led to burial chambers under those shrines, with the sarcophagi of Henhenit, Kemsit, and Kawīt still within them. The other three pits (Nos. 7, 8, and 12) contained no sarcophagi, but finding six shrines and six pits had led the excavators to assign these three anonymous pits to the three northern shrines. They thought that the fact that two of these pits were far away from the shrines to which they assigned them could be explained by a desire to have all of the grave pits within the peristyle court near the king's own tomb.

Here was the historical fallacy again. The court did not exist when the pits were dug, and therefore they could not have been in it. Taking the three cases of the southern shrines where the relation of shrines and pits was beyond question, we believed that all of the graves should have a corresponding position under the shrines, and we therefore discarded Pit 12 from the count as being too far away to belong to any of the northern shrines. Not only could the same objection be raised about Pit 8, but since Naville's publication had proved that it was contemporary with the temple itself, we discarded it as being later than the shrines.

After these disqualifications the score stood six shrines and four pits. Admitting that Naville's Pit 7 belonged to Sadeḥ, we still had to find the burial places of Ḥashayet and Mayet, and, if our theory were true, the place to look for them was directly behind the ruins of the two northern shrines.

If the reader has found all of these arguments and reasonings involved—and in their outcome so often disappointing—let him picture the state of mind of those of us who had lived with them for weeks. Hauser and I decided to settle it right away and as quietly as possible, for if there was to be another false alarm we wanted no one to be the wiser. Since Naville's day a layer of rain-washed mud had covered the place where all our hopes were centered, and a little scratching showed that under the mud there was an ancient pavement. We had the five foremen of our working gangs draw lots to see which three of them should send men over to clear the mud away, and when we had shown them what to do, we left them. Another of

³ Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, I, p. 8. There was probably very little on which to base the last of these names, and that little being soon lost, this princess is nameless to Naville after his first season.

the disappointments of a digger's life was more than we could stand.

This time, though, there was no disappointment. When we went back to the work, the men were brushing the last baskets of dirt away from a practically unbroken ancient pavement, and in that pavement, just behind the foundations of the shrine of ʿAshayet, there was an absolutely plain, tell-tale sinking of the paving slabs outlining a pit, and another, only a little less obvious, could be seen behind Mayet's shrine (pl. 6). There was no doubt that our two pits were there, and the pavement was a guarantee that no one had been in them in modern times.

For another day we had to hold ourselves in, while Burton photographed the place and Hauser made a detailed plan. Then we recalled the native workmen. Up to this time they had not had the slightest inkling of what we had in our minds. We told them to sound with crowbars in the cracks between the paving slabs on either side of the sunken space behind the shrine of ʿAshayet, and they stolidly reported bed-rock—as we expected. Then we had them take up one slab in the depression and sound there. Maḥmūd Abu Rayān drove his crowbar down. It sank into soft dirt. He did it again. Suddenly it began to dawn upon him that he was standing in the mouth of a pit. His listlessness was blown away in a breath, and all the other men and boys caught the excitement. Maḥmūd es Sebaʿī was started in behind the northern shrine in the same way, and we could hardly hold him back from tearing up every stone in sight. Dirt flew, and by lunch time they had almost burrowed out of sight. Even the poor fellows who had drawn the job of reclearing the pit of Sadeḥ for planning were swept away in the excitement and thought that they too were about to make their fortunes.

We had found the pits, but a digger soon becomes a skeptic, and besides there was a growing uneasiness in our minds when we began to find that ancient thieves had been before us. By nightfall, however, the men had got down to the door of ʿAshayet's chamber and had found it sealed with a great block of limestone (pl. 6). We could not get inside until we had photographed this, but fortunately for our peace of mind there was a ragged hole above the doorway, and into this we thrust our electric torches for a first glimpse. There was a great wooden coffin tipped on edge just inside, and underneath this we could see a corner of the sculptured limestone sarcophagus of ʿAshayet. The work went more slowly in the other pit, but in the course of time a sealed doorway was found there as well. When we opened this we could see an enormous, uninscribed limestone sar-

cophagus still closed, with dirt piled along the side of it almost to its lid (pl. 7).

The week that followed was a busy one. Each day there were photographs for Burton to take underground by reflected light and plans for Hauser to draw, doubled up in the little chambers (fig. 4). From ʿAshayet's pit we took the great wooden coffin that stood on top of the sarcophagus, hurried it off for safekeeping in our storerooms, and set to work on what was under it. A momentary disappointment at finding ʿAshayet's mummy ripped open by the ancient robbers was forgotten in the next instant when we found her magnificent wooden coffin undamaged. The mummy, coffin, ʿAshayet's statuette, and the pots and bones of her food offerings kept us busy for several days before we could even begin on the northern chamber.

There the great sarcophagus set us a problem. Mayet's lid was in place—it must have weighed two tons—and the space to work was so cramped that we could scarcely get to it (pl. 7). We dared not smash it up, even uninscribed as it was, for fear of breaking what might be inside. Fortunately, though, there were rope-holes in it which had been used four thousand years ago to lower it into place. We worked wire rope through them, got a long lever out into the pit, and with a gang of men hanging to that, gradually raised the lid inch by inch until we could get beams and rollers under it. The men were then placed squatting alongside of it in the chamber with their backs to the wall and their bare feet against it. The word was given; the men straightened their backs, and the great mass of stone was shoved across the sarcophagus until it toppled over behind, and within we could see a little white coffin, absolutely intact, bearing the name of Mayet—"the Cat."

Even when all of the coffins were out, our greatest task remained. There was the sarcophagus of ʿAshayet to be moved, and it presented a problem which was unusually complicated. It was built of slabs of limestone tied together at the corners with copper bands (pl. 8). The outside was sculptured with marvelous fineness, while the inside was brilliant with color as fresh as if it had just been painted. It was impossible to lift the structure as it stood, and we could not expose the surfaces to risk of damage from ropes or even to the chance of being soiled by the workmen's hands. Plainly it would have to be dismantled and each piece boxed in the chamber, even though some of the slabs might weigh as much as a ton and a half and the space we had to work in was scarcely as large as a good-sized clothes closet.

When we did get to work on it we cut the copper bands at two of

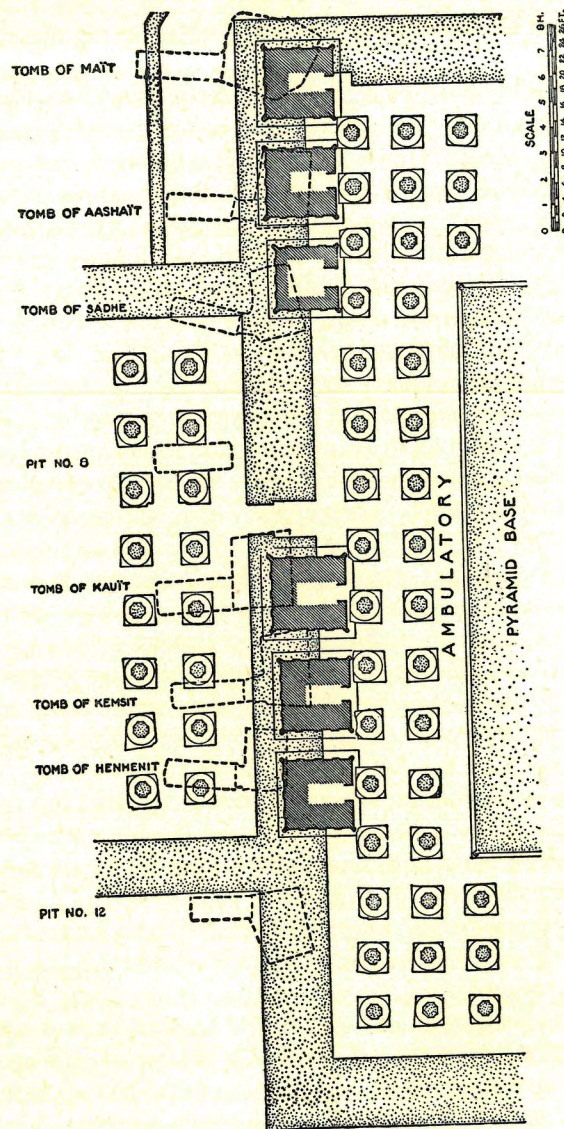


FIG. 4. PLAN OF THE TOMBS OF THE QUEENS OF NEB-HEPET-RÊ

the corners, put ropes through the holes the bands had passed through, rigged a tackle, and lowered one side of the sarcophagus outward into a waiting box. Three or four layers of blankets made a soft bed for the sculptured outer surface, and the painted inner face was wedged so that nothing should touch the delicate colors. The ends were not difficult to handle, but the side against the wall was a very different matter. We had to suspend it from a pole—by those invaluable tie-holes in the corners—raise it with jacks from its bedding in the bottom slabs, and then slowly screw it out into the room until we could get a box behind it and pack it with the painted side uppermost (pl. 10).

Day after day in that underground hole with as many as a dozen slaving fellāhīn was a nightmare. The temperature was so hot in the sunshine above that the foul air below could not rise. One workman had a case of influenza, and before we were done most of us shared it with him. However, one by one the boxes were finished, largely on rations of hot tea, and hauled to the surface. Fresh men were put on the pulley chains, and the cliffs of Deir el Baḥrī echoed with the shrieking of the big differential gears. One of the big boxes seemed almost too heavy for the gang who were hauling the chains from a scaffold built over the pit mouth—and they stopped to take a breath. Then a workman from Ḳurneh village sang out in a clear tenor, "Whoop, in the name of Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh"—our local saint—and all hauled. The chain did not budge, and the boss Ḥāmid took a hand. "No," he said, "recite the opening chapter of the Ḳorān in honor of Sheikh Tay'a," and all hands stood reverently whispering "In the name of God the Compassionate and the Merciful" for this rival holy man. With the last word they swung on the chain. It moved. The scaffold broke, and eight pairs of brown legs were wildly kicking over twenty feet of emptiness, eight pairs of brown hands were clinging desperately to the chain, and eight voices were all squealing to be hauled on to terra firma. After that I insisted on a return to Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh, who was evidently less powerful than Sheikh Tay'a, but more conservative.

Nothing but the foundations of the little cubical shrines remain in place, but in them one can still see the scratches on the stone sills where the wooden doors used to be opened and the statues drawn out on festival days. Scattered chips of the walls which were collected and fitted together by Madame Naville give us some idea of the brilliancy of the decorations on the exteriors. The backs and sides were paneled to represent the great doors of the palace, into which the lady enters with the king, while the front showed the harīm

apartments with the lady in converse with her royal spouse or receiving the ministrations of her servants. Every moulding and every space not filled with pictures bore prayers for the lady's benefit, in which she is called by a fiction which is not without its humor when so many ladies boast of it in a row, "the *only* royal favorite."

We have seen that behind each shrine there was a grave pit, and at the bottom of each pit a little tomb chamber in which the princess was buried. Naville found the simple limestone sarcophagus and the despoiled mummy of Henhenit which together with the fragments of her shrine were presented to the Metropolitan Museum by the Egypt Exploration Fund. The plundered body, fragments of a gorgeously painted sarcophagus, and bits of the shrine of Kemsit are in the British Museum. To Cairo went the practically intact sarcophagus of Kawīt and all that remained of the shrines of Sadeḥ and ʿAshayet. It remained for us to discover the two tomb chambers of ʿAshayet and of Mayet which had suffered least from ancient thieves and thus preserve the most interesting material of all six pits.

Mayet, whose coffins we found under the northern shrine, suggested something else. All six pits had been robbed. Those found by Naville had suffered greatly, Sadeḥ's and Kemsit's most of all. The others would seem to have been entered only once and then to have been closed up again by their guardians. This is how we happened to find the doors of the burial chambers of ʿAshayet and of Mayet carefully sealed with large slabs of limestone set in plaster. Evidently the thefts had taken place at some time when the site was still looked after, even though the guardianship might have been lax or even venal. The robberies could not have taken place before the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ was built over the shrines, because the thieves had been forced to cut the wall of the temple to pry the stones away from the mouth of ʿAshayet's pit, and had found it necessary to support the temple pavement with wooden beams when they opened the tomb of Kawīt. It is inconceivable that such wholesale vandalism could have been committed during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties when the temple was one of the most venerated in Thebes, and yet on the other hand the robbery must have taken place before the early years of the Eighteenth Dynasty. At that time the Ḥat-Ḥor chapel was started, and all over the temple votives from the chapel were scattered, but not a trace of them was found under the paving slabs in the fillings of the pits of ʿAshayet and Mayet. The plundering, then, took place sometime about four hundred years after the princesses were buried, in the troubled period between the Twelfth and

the Eighteenth Dynasties when the Hyksos ruled in Lower Egypt and Thebes was reduced to poverty and impotence.

After finding Queen ʿAshayet we had expected to find another queen in the northern tomb chamber, and our surprise was great when we discovered only a little girl, scarcely five years old, buried in a cheap set of wooden coffins from which the original name had been erased and that of Mayet substituted. We jumped to the conclusion that the tomb had originally been built for a princess whose mummy had been despoiled and that after the robbers had left, the little waif had been buried in the deserted grave. In this, however, we were evidently wrong. The robberies took place about 1600 B.C., while everything about this little infant's burial shows that it belongs to the early Eleventh Dynasty, before 2000 B.C. Then Hauser noticed, in going over Naville's publication for a second time, that at the end of his first season he had listed with the five known princesses, a sixth—"Tamaīt"—which is really the name "Mayet" preceded by the feminine article. In his subsequent volumes Naville omits all mention of the name but, everything considered, we can scarcely escape the conclusion that Mayet's name belongs with the princesses, and that she was the rightful owner of the northern shrine.

Who Mayet was, must be left to our imaginations. Buried this way among the wives of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ, possibly she was a daughter of the king who died suddenly and was laid away in an unfinished tomb intended for some grown person, or possibly she was the child of an aristocratic family who had been affianced from birth to the sovereign, but who died before she grew up to marriageable age. Such arrangements are made among the Egyptians to-day and may have been the custom four thousand years ago.

Regarding ʿAshayet, however, there is no such question. She was an actual queen, albeit she had scarcely lived twenty-two or twenty-three years—a plump little person with bobbed hair done up in innumerable little plaits, upon whom the utmost was expended when she was buried in this queens' row. The artists who fashioned the magnificent sarcophagus of Kawīt now in Cairo—a piece of sculpture which has been taken as one of the classical examples of Middle Kingdom art ever since its discovery—made ʿAshayet's sarcophagus as well. It is a masterpiece of the carving of a school which was still archaic but of a technical skill rarely equalled.

On the east side is a palace doorway with the balcony above, from which ʿAshayet was supposed to look out upon the world through two graven eyes. Within the palace all manner of good things are

heaped before her, while she sits with her dog under her chair and a maid behind her, fanning her with a duck's wing. She drinks milk which the dairymen give her fresh from a pair of cows that are brought in with their calves, or she visits her farm where her steward superintends the peasants carrying sacks of grain up into her granaries. Her maid gives her jars of sweet-smelling perfumes from the boxes in her closets, and her butchers slaughter an ox and heap a dinner-table mountain high before her. Inside, the same scenes are repeated in brilliant colors, for such were the events of her daily life and such were her hopes of the world to come (pl. 8).

On the wooden coffin, the subjects of the decorations belong more to the mysterious realm of magic. Outside it is severely plain, with fine-grained wood relieved only by bands of gold along the edges, by deeply carved prayers, and once again the eyes which look out upon the world (pl. 9). Inside, all is of a weird brilliancy. The lid of the coffin is the sky, and on it is painted an astrological almanac, giving the rising of the stars and constellations through the twelve hours of the night, and a long prayer to the beings of the firmament. Our "Great Bear" we find masquerading as a leg of beef. Long magical texts cover the sides and ends of the coffin, and above them are ranged in rows item after item taken from the catalogue of the amulets and talismans necessary to the soul that would escape the dangers and pitfalls of the nether-world.

Inside the coffin 'Ashayet's body had been laid in a mummiform cartonnage, which in spite of its wrecked condition is an important document on Egyptian mortuary customs. Over her had been piled masses of bed sheets to cover her in her eternal sleep (pl. 10), and in the corners of them we found the linen marks of the royal palace of four thousand years ago—sometimes simply "King Mentu-hotpe," or "The store of fine linen," or again the name of the steward who superintended its making or its acquisition. By her side had lain her statuette, archaically stiff, with gold bracelets and a red skirt held up by white suspenders.

The thieves who broke into 'Ashayet's tomb had been looking primarily for precious metals, and little had escaped them. A few beads from her necklaces, a shell bracelet of no value, and two silver bead anklets were all that they overlooked, but by good fortune during the four centuries she lay in peace her jewels had left casts in her bandages which time had not obliterated, and from them we were able to draw a diagram of all she had worn. To make room for their work, they had swept aside most of the offering pots and the

joints of beef supplied for her ghostly life, and they had broken the lid of the sarcophagus to get at her body. Beyond this, however, the sarcophagus, the coffin, and the statuette had suffered no material damage, and all three have come down to us almost as fresh and clean as the day they were made. From some other grave broken into by the same robbers they brought the coffin of a certain lady Kemsit (not the queen of the same name) and put it here in 'Ashayet's chamber, wedged in on top of her sarcophagus. Then they sealed the door, filled the pit, and replaced the paving slabs above.

We owe much to those guardians, but our gratitude was not unmitigated. The coffin of Kemsit was the first thing we removed; it was closed and apparently still intact, and our hopes were high of finding untold treasures within it. We carried it to the Expedition house unopened, and at the first chance we had, we set it up in the photographic room. Cameras were assembled, notebooks made ready, and everybody collected around. The word was given, the lid raised, and we all peered in—to see a miserable little pile of rags and nothing else!

Evidently the thieves had broken into the tomb of Mayet also, but they were either half-hearted in their work or they were interrupted, for they accomplished nothing. After taking out all of the boulders with which the pit was filled, except a few of the heaviest, they had heaped the chamber itself with dirt and stones to the height of the sarcophagus, the easier to move the lid. Then they cut the copper bands from the corners of the sarcophagus and prepared ropes for lifting the lid. Possibly they had started to work on it, for it was chipped along the edges and a piece of their rope was found inside. But that is as far as they went (pl. 7).

When we opened the big sarcophagus the little whitewashed wooden coffin of Mayet lay within. Beside it there had been tossed a pile of linen cloth, which we took for a pall such as we had found the year before in the tomb of Wah. Inside we found a second coffin with strips of cloth holding the lid in place, and within this second coffin lay a pile of linen bed clothes covering the little mummy (pl. 11). There Mayet lay upon her side with the eyes of her plaster mask gazing through the eyes painted on her coffins. The coffins were small, but the wrapped mummy with its mask was much smaller, and as we came to unwrap it we found that, small as it was, it was mostly padding at head and foot to disguise the tiny proportions of the pathetic little infant within. Through hours of alternate unwrapping and photographing we tried to stave off the disappointment we felt

at not having found anything of striking importance in her tomb. Bandage after bandage was removed, and then suddenly there was a glint of carnelian beads. Carefully the linen was cut away, and one after another five charming necklaces appeared. Mayet may have been hastened off to the grave in whatever coffins could be found, but at least she was decked out in all the finery she had worn during her brief life.

There was a string of great ball beads of hollow gold; another of carnelian beads; two necklaces of minute beads of silver, carnelian, green felspar, and rich blue glass; and a necklace of gold disks so fine that strung on leather bands they look like a supple tube of unbroken gold. Removing each necklace carefully we were able to preserve the exact arrangement of every bead. In fact, the carnelian necklace still remains on its original string; the end cords of the gold ball beads could be saved; and the leather of the gold disk beads, while hard, had only to be softened a little to be bent into shape. The two necklaces of small beads had to be restrung and the silver and glass units cleaned to admit new thread, but we recovered all of the brilliant, joyous color scheme of the jewelry as little Mayet wore it four thousand years ago.

SEASON OF 1921-1922

We are told that this is the age of specialization, and not to be behind the times, we introduced it into our digging at Thebes—and it paid.¹ Two seasons before, we had found the models of Meket-Rē and decided to specialize on the Eleventh Dynasty cemeteries. The following year this led us to the tombs of ḤAshayet and little Mayet. Sticking to the same scheme in 1921-1922 we were rewarded with the private letters of a garrulous old farmer-priest, which have taken us right up the back stairs of a household of four thousand years ago and let us eavesdrop on domestic squabbles of the days of Abraham.

The unfinished temple site which we had found the previous year was cleared in the autumn of 1921 right up to the point where the ancient engineers abandoned their task at the death of their royal master. High up, half-way between this unfinished temple and that at Deir el Baḥrī, on the rocky crags beside a dizzily winding path, there are scratched a confusing medley of signatures.² It is just like some schoolroom desk or some temptingly white-birch tree. Once there is an initial cut into it, every boy who owns a penknife has an irresistible impulse to add his. In this case, however, it was the Twelfth Dynasty priests who left their scrawls, and nearly every one of them mentions that he served the tombs of Neb-ḥepet-Rē or Sṯankh-ka-Rē. The association of the priests of these two kings can not be a mere coincidence. Surely, if they forgathered here, it was because the two tombs that they were guarding were not far away, and as there is no question but that the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rē was at Deir el Baḥrī nearby, it is reasonable to suppose that Sṯankh-ka-Rē was buried in the equally nearby unfinished temple to the south.

We found a dozen more grave pits, and in one we found the two arms wrenched from a mummy, with the skin still showing the imprints of eight large bracelets of gold and semi-precious stones. Everywhere we found those curiously decorated mummy cases that the Arab workmen call *rishi* from the feather patterns painted on them. One of the pits was the tomb of a warrior named A ḥ-mose Pe-n-ḥet, son of A ḥ-hotpe, as we learned from bits of his mummy cloth written

¹ *Bulletin*, XVII (1922), December, II, p. 19. See, for the papyri of Ḥeka-nakhte, *Scribner's Magazine*, 1922, p. 288.

² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti aus der Thebanischen Nekropolis*, Nos. 920-987; Winlock, *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (1941), p. 146.

all over with magic texts. The name of Thut-mose I, who reigned somewhere about 1530 B.C., was carved on the grip of a dagger. A th-mose had a compound bow, made up of layers of horn and wood for greater strength, somewhat the way a carriage spring is made up of layers of steel, and a leather bowman's wristlet. We found bits of his ebony arm-chair inlaid with ivory, his table—in fact, it was hard to tell how much there had been before the ancient robbers had amused themselves by hurling rocks at whatever had seemed not worth carrying away. Another pit had been the last resting place of a number of women, whose false tresses and transformations were carefully wrapped up in linen cloths against the day when they would want to tie them in among their own locks to look their best at some ghostly function in the next world. Luckily the blue faience pot-stands and pillow in another tomb had not been completely pulverized in this wanton game, and we found that we had a very handsome collection of the ceramic art of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

With the possibilities of the Stankh-ka-Rē cemetery exhausted, so far as we could see, on New Year's Day, 1922, we returned to Deir el BaĦri and the temple and cemetery of Neb-ḥepet-Rē. Day by day our work seemed to have few ups and many downs. Our gang grew to over four hundred men and boys, the railway to our dump lengthened out to a quarter of a mile, and the mere effort of keeping our cars moving so that the work should never stop took up all of our energies.

As one stood in the ruined temple doorway, there stretched in front an enormous courtyard, over two hundred meters long and one hundred meters wide. On the far side there was a gateway through which one entered from an avenue, lined on either side with statues of the king. Toward the front of the court, and partly under the old house built by the Egypt Exploration Fund, was the mouth of a gigantic tomb called the Bab el Hosān by the Arabs, found by Howard Carter in 1900. The temple itself was discovered and cleared by the Egypt Exploration Fund between 1903 and 1907.

Our object was to clear the southern half of the court from front to back to discover whether there was a pendant tomb to the Bab el Hosān and whether there were any other tombs outside of the southern wall (pl. 1). We found that there was neither the one nor the other, but to our surprise the front of the courtyard was not the rock leveled off—it turned out to be a hollow filled some five meters deep with rock and sand. Originally it had been intended to fill this hollow less deeply, and at that time a wall of rough field stone was

built along the southern side. Then the plan was changed; the eastern part of the court was filled a meter deeper over the original grading, and a field-stone wall was erected, starting out in a curve from the temple. Up to this point the court had been oriented directly toward Karnak, but as the avenue thus projected ran into hills near the cultivation, a complete change was made, pointing the court and the avenue in a more southeasterly direction on the lines which we now see. The curved wall was thereupon demolished—it may have been built only a few courses high—and the existing stone walls were built with brick outer walls beyond.

In the front part of the courtyard we dug parallel trenches to bed rock and began to strike the mouths of enormous circular, funnel-shaped pits ten meters deep. The men were wild with excitement because one of the local workmen said that these pits were just like the Bab el Gusus in which Daressy had found hundreds of untouched burials years ago. We thought they were a double row of tree holes leading to the temple ramp. The only difficulty was that they were filled with rocks instead of earth in which a tree could grow.

Eventually, one pair of holes turned out to be filled with soil, and in it we could see tree roots. The avenue had been laid out across the court, parallel to the existing stone walls which belonged to the third plan. But the front wall of the court remains to this day something like the line of the second plan. This point was not taken into consideration when the rows of trees were planned, and ten holes in each row were filled with rock, covered over, and only the four nearest the temple in each row were planted with sycamore fig trees.³ These were so far from the gateway that no one would notice that they were out of alignment. As a semi-poetic touch, in each tree hole they placed a sandstone statue of the king. We found the broken statues lying beside each, and the holes in the mud where they had stood—and in one case some pious person had made a little altar of earth by the tree trunk (pl. 5).

Just at this time we began to find circular tree plots in front of the southern colonnade of the temple, and as time went on we had cleared three rows of seven plots each, filled with soil and planted with tamarisks, and when we excavated the other side of the court we found a corresponding grove opposite the northern colonnade.⁴

³ The identification of all of the botanical specimens from the excavations of 1921-22 was very generously made by T. W. Brown, of the Horticultural Section, Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture.

⁴ See below, page 84 and pl. 2.

Furthermore, just at this time the workmen clearing away one of Naville's old dumps turned up in it two pieces of sandstone faintly marked with red lines (fig. 5), clearly pieces of a floor slab from the ambulatory on the upper level.

We must remember that drawings to scale were unknown to the ancient Egyptians, and we need not be surprised to find that the temple platform and the ramp are represented by a mere symbol laid out on the center line. To right and left dots are laid out at the inter-

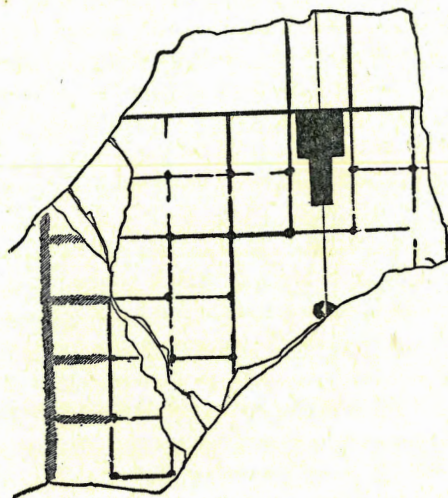


FIG. 5. ANCIENT PLAN OF THE GROVE OF NEB-ḤEPET-RĒ

sections of ruled lines; and to the left were three long rows of seven dots each—the tamarisk grove—and a closer examination of the stone shows a fourth row erased. Clearly the old landscape architect paced off the length of the right-hand portico and found that he could work in four rows of trees. Then, squatting down on the floor, he laid out a symmetrical design with four rows on both sides, which stood until some more observant colleague pointed out that both colonnades were not the same width, and he scratched out his fourth row on the left. Close to the temple, trees are marked which do not exactly agree with the finished lay-out, and the circular feature in front of the ramp we searched for in vain.

The holes in which trees were to be planted were filled with black soil sufficiently lightened with river sand. Lying horizontally and quite close together about ten or fifteen centimeters below the sur-

face, we noticed round poles eight centimeters in diameter and two meters long. These poles were readily identified as sycamore fig branches which the miraculous dryness of the Egyptian desert had preserved for four thousand years, and we were able to photograph shoots and roots sprouting from every knot (pl. 5). In other words, these poles were gardeners' cuttings, crowded close together to give a thick clump of green. For a short time they had been a great success, and then the caretakers of the temple had neglected to water them; the young trees had parched and dried; and the axe marks of the wood choppers still showed how they had been cleared away.

Meantime, four men were clearing out the sand which had drifted, since Naville's day, into the trench in the rock prepared for the revetment wall of the temple platform. They seemed to have done enough and were just about to move on when their hoes went into a square hole at the turning of the trench, and the first thing they brought out was a broken mud brick from which had fallen a bronze tablet. The men's never-failing hope was of a pit of gold and a fabulous bonus, and they refused to have it blighted by my doubts until a happy idea struck me, and off I ran to the other three corners of the temple with the head man in tow. The walls over the other corners turned out to be practically intact, and the magnificent hopes of the pit were not very reluctantly given up for the sure thing of four deposits.

In Egypt the laying of a corner-stone was even more of an event than it is to-day when a masonic temple is being built. At each of the four corners of the foundation trench a hole some three feet square was dug. On the appointed day—with the king present in person, in all probability—the priests approached one corner of the temple and placed in the hole the head, a leg, and a rib of a freshly slaughtered ox (pl. 5). Beside it they laid some conical loaves of bread, some little saucers filled with barley, figs, grapes, jujubes, and little round cakes, and half a dozen miniature wine jars. All this was doubtless accompanied by prayers that the king, who would one day be buried in the temple, should never feel the pangs of hunger or of thirst. Then the masons filled the hole with gravel and sand and brought out some fresh clay and a brick mould and moulded upon the spot four bricks—the first plain brick, the second with a tablet of bronze in it, the third with a tablet of alabaster, and the fourth with a tablet of wood. Thus they represented the four materials of which the temple was built—brick, metal, stone, and wood—and on each tablet was carved the name of the founder: King Neb-ḥepet-Rē Mentu-ḥotpe.

Then they passed to the next hole and so on around to the southwest corner, and as the brickmakers had a little mud left over after making the four sets of bricks, they dumped it in the hole, for their job was over. They may have been a very devout party but they were not very orderly, for at the northeast corner, as they moved on to the next, one of them took a short cut and carelessly stepped and slipped on one of the soft, wet bricks which had just been laid so ceremoniously. It was his footprint that told us the tale.

Just outside of the southern courtyard walls the men turned up over forty immense rope baskets full of stone chip. There is no doubt that they are of the Eleventh Dynasty, for one of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's walls went right over them. There they stood lined up in rows as the workmen left them. Some change in plan was made. Dirt was dumped on top of them, the wall was built on top of that, and thus they remained forgotten. An Eleventh Dynasty mason's cord-reel from one of the nearby tombs had a wooden handle with a split reed revolving loosely on it. The cord was an old one that had seen service, for it had been soaked in the red paint used to snap on work they were lining up (pl. 18).

On a spur of the hill overlooking the southeastern corner of the courtyard there was a little cemetery of scarcely a score of graves, where in the late Twelfth Dynasty were buried certain worthies, possibly all members of one family. Several of the men were employed in the treasury department—"Wearers of the Royal Seal"—or held minor offices at court; one was a son of a vizier, and the most important was "Chief of the Prophets in Karnak" in the days of Amen-em-ḥēt III. On the whole they were respectable, prosperous Theban burghers. The Chief Prophet S'en-Wosret-ankh built himself a brick tomb chapel overlooking the temple court with a forehall whose ceiling was once supported by painted wooden columns exactly like those in the model of the house of Meket-Rē. Another Amen-em-ḥēt had a similar chapel with painted limestone shrines let into the walls to shelter statues of himself and his wife. We found them broken to pieces, for the temptation to drop them down deep pits to see them smash had been too great for later vandals. And then there were stelae in wood and in limestone, put up in memory of the lesser personages. Archaeologically the most important information from this cemetery permits us to date a certain class of black, rectangular coffins to the late Twelfth Dynasty.

We also found a foundation deposit laid down some five hundred years after Neb-ḥepet-Rē by Queen Ḥat-shepsūt for a corner of her

great temple at Deir el Baḥri. There was the same food—and in addition, a quail, some dates, and a tray of fig branches full of bundles of celery—but instead of the four symbolical bricks to represent the materials of which a temple was built, there were models of the builders' tools. There was the carpenters' axe, adze, mallet, plain chisel, and mortising chisel; the smelters' crucible; the brickmakers' mould; the wooden pick for digging the foundations; and rush sieves for sand (pl. 42).

In the Eighteenth Dynasty Deir el Baḥri was peculiarly sacred to the Goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, and a shrine was built in the Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple where Naville found the famous cow. She was the miraculous madonna of ancient Thebes. Daily the devotees flocked to her chapel to beg for her favors, and on the way they bought from a hawker at some roadside booth a string of beads or a little pottery cow to offer with their prayers, and others carried a blue faience platter of fruit or flowers. The priests had to clear it out from time to time to make room for this never-ending stream of offerings. The old and broken ones they gathered up and carried half-way across the courtyard of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple to the side doors, and just outside they dumped them. All over the hillside south of the courtyard we found rubbish brought out from the chapel—including even a fish-net.

By the Twenty-fifth Dynasty a great dune of drift sand had covered the now destroyed walls of the courtyard, and in it were scooped the simple graves of the Theban poor, who were in pathetic contrast with the great nobles buried around them. Rarely could they afford a coffin, so their families merely bundled them up in old rags and carried them up to the desert cemetery. To make the body rigid enough to be borne on the shoulders of the mourners, it was trussed up with palm sticks, and the arms and feet were tied together before it was wrapped in its grave clothes. No offerings were left with them except a garland of leaves with one small child, and, in the sand not far from another, there was a miniature basket full of an odd lot of beads (pl. 89).

A nearby Eleventh Dynasty tomb was appropriated by the somewhat more prosperous. A brick chapel was built for them in the tomb court with a palm tree planted in front, and in the tomb and in little chambers cut in the chapel floor they were laid away in mummy-shaped coffins. Four painted wooden stelae of a family of priests and priestesses of Amūn, who were also officials of the Vicereine of Thebes, lay near the chapel doorway. On the one side the dead are shown as the God Anubis introduces them to the God Harmakhis in the world to come. On the other, they sit beneath a tree while the Goddess Nūt

pours cooling drinks out to them with either hand (pl. 89).

The entire southern half of the Neb-ḥepet-Rē area at Deir el Baḥri was finished as far as we could see, and rather than begin on the northern half in the spring of 1922, we decided to leave it until the following winter. M. Lacau, Directeur Général du Service des Antiquités, had made arrangements for us to excavate the big tombs of the nobles of the reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rē which look down upon

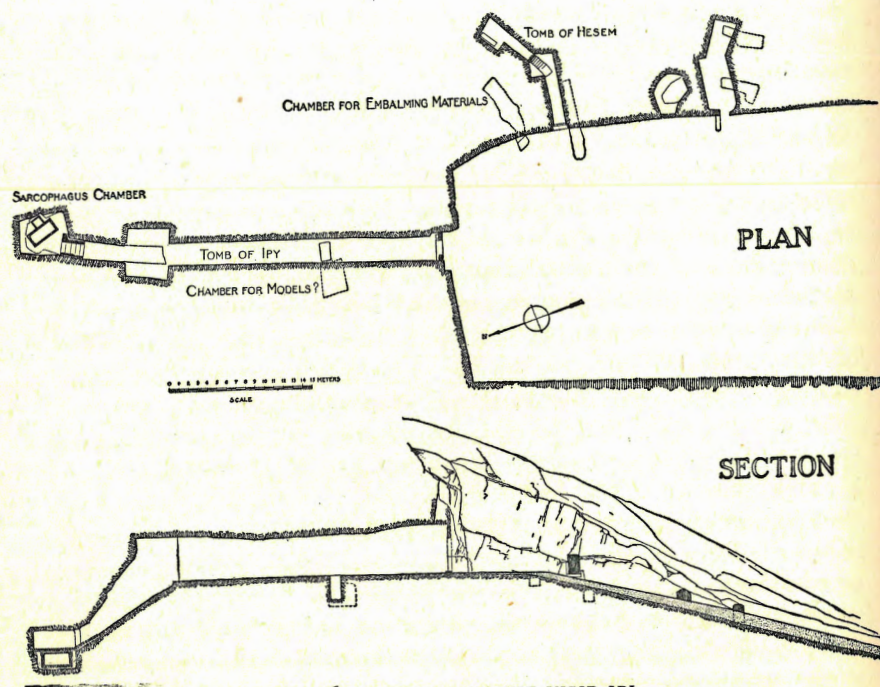


FIG. 6. THE TOMB OF THE VIZIR IPI

Deir el Baḥri from the northern cliffs. In 1911-12 we had done a few tombs to the south, and if we were to continue our specializing on the Eleventh Dynasty, those to the north of Deir el Baḥri should naturally be our next task.

To-day the bats rustle in the darkness of the opened tombs; the chambers where the model boats and granaries were stored are empty; and the one sarcophagus which we found was blackened with the smoke of burnt mummies. All of the more obvious places were robbed ages ago, but the chance of another forgotten chamber like that of Meket-Rē would justify almost any efforts. It was in one of these

tombs, west of the path to the Valley of the Kings, that Maspero found the burial chamber of Ḥar-ḥotpe which is among the treasures of the Cairo Museum, and the tomb of the Vizir Ipi lies just east of it.⁵ In the rock cutting on the east side of the sloping ramp up which one approached from the valley below, little tombs for the family and the vassals of the great man were quarried out of the rock. One of them, made for a certain Ḥesem, we discovered intact (pl. 14). The lid of the coffin was pegged in place, its handle was sawn off, and we could see how the last priest, taking a broom of *heden*-grass, had swept out the chamber, reciting the while a most powerful incantation which removed the footprints of all evil spirits before the door was sealed up forever. The straws which had fallen from such a broom we found in the tomb of Waḥ, the henchman of Meket-Rē, and now again in 1921-22 we found them scattered over the floor of this tomb of Ḥesem.

Piles of pots filled with rags and salt—the refuse of embalmers' shops—had been found left over from the embalming of the body of Meket-Rē. A little chamber had been provided for them, near the tomb because they had been in contact with the body and therefore contained some of its essence, but outside of the courtyard because all that appertained to embalming was impure. That chamber had been entered before our day, but we found the similar chamber of the tomb of Ipi just as it had been sealed up after his funeral.

This chamber, again, was near the tomb but just far enough away not to pollute Ipi's "eternal dwelling". Cloths, salts, aromatic oils, sawdust, and countless pottery vessels, far beyond ordinary requirements, were laid aside against the day of his death. In addition a wooden platform 216 centimeters long and 128 centimeters wide was prepared, with four wooden blocks similar to those on dissecting tables (pl. 18). On the day of his death the body of Ipi was delivered to the embalmers and stretched on the blocks. On the four corners were laid four wooden talismans shaped like the hieroglyph "life," and there was brought forth a curious magical instrument called the *pedet-ʿaḥa*, of doubtful but unquestionably potent meaning. To the recitation of appropriate charms, the body was then anointed with oils and rubbed with salts which still stain the platform and the blocks. Then, Ipi's mummy duly wrapped in its bandages, all that had touched it was gathered up religiously, for the possession of so much as a hair of his head by an enemy would provide the means of be-

⁵ Service des Antiquités, Nos. 314 (Ḥar-ḥotpe), 315 (Ipi). Bull. J. E. A., X (1924), p. 15.

witching him. Soiled rags, broken pots, left-over salts, the wooden "signs of life," and the *pedet-taḥa* were packed in sixty-seven large jars which were sealed and carried up to the little chamber by the tomb. Curiously enough we can say that it took four trips to get them all up there, for only eighteen rope sling-nets were provided to carry the pots, and they had to be taken off and carried back after each trip, until the fourth and last lot was placed in the chamber with the ropes still on them. Finally came the table and the blocks, and as the former was too wide to be crammed through the narrow entrance, the embalmers broke it up and stuck it in on top of the jars as a mere pile of boards.

While we are on the subject of embalming materials it is worth while noting that in an Eighteenth Dynasty chamber of the same sort we found pots marked in ink with their contents—"wam-wood sawdust," "inset-material," and "natron salt"—or with the names of the embalmers Hori and Montu. In one of these jars was the rather gruesome scraper with which they had worked on the bodies.

Centuries before this, sorcerers were told of who could make a magic crocodile of wax that would gobble up the lover of a faithless wife, or later of a magic wax ship and its crew that could kidnap a king and carry him to Ethiopia and back in a single night. What could be more natural, then, than to make a magic wax mummy which, if only the proper words had been recited over it, could substitute itself for a body that had been destroyed. Such a wax mummy lying in a miniature wooden coffin was made for one Si-Iṭaḥ, son of Ren-iḳer, who lived in the days of the Eleventh Dynasty. The Egypt Exploration Fund had found his empty pit tomb in the southern court of the temple, and in 1921-22 we found his little magic wax mummy in its coffin where some robber had dropped it as a thing of no value. The archaeologist will see in the wax mummy, like those of Neferu found in 1923-24, a prototype of the countless wooden, stone, and pottery shawabtis which fill every Egyptian collection. Only by a curious twist of ideas what in the Eleventh Dynasty was a man's own portrait in the course of time became his servant.

In ancient Egyptian mythology the god Horus had set the bones of his father Osiris together and had preserved them from decay, and the planks of coffins were joined together with wooden pegs just as the bones of Osiris were joined together by the magic of Horus. Therefore, the coffin-maker of the early Eighteenth Dynasty wrote upon his pegs and his tenons before he drove them into the planks: "Joined for thee are thy bones which are in the Great Cemetery, by

Horus who embraces thee," or an incantation that would compel the Children of Horus to wrap the dead in indestructible bandages. Further, books of magic contained infallible spells against the enmity of demons in the world to come, and sometimes these were copied out on the skin of a mummy's arm before it was wrapped up. With some such idea of warding off evil the family of a little girl who died about 1000 B.C. had tied strings around her throat, elbows, wrists, and ankles, and each string they had knotted a mystic number of times—seven, fourteen, and twenty-one.

Every one of the ancient Thebans, if he were rich enough, appointed a "*Ka*-servant"—a priest learned in mortuary ceremonies, who was also the manager of the estates with which he endowed his tomb. At New Year's, on the *Wag*-feast, the Festival of Thūt, and all the other holidays of the religious year, it was the duty of the *Ka*-servant to repair to the tomb and make the offerings, and as some of these feasts called for night and day attendance, there were times when the *Ka*-servant camped out at the tomb for several days on end. With him he might bring a sheaf of papers and accounts to occupy his idle time, and when he was finished with them nothing was more natural than to crumple them up and throw them away in some odd corner. Now, after four thousand years, we come along and gather up these waste papers and suddenly meet the Theban *Ka*-servants when they are thinking of something far different from the religious rigamarole that the tomb pictures always make them recite.

Of these *Ka*-servants' scrap-baskets the first that we found was in a cranny of a little tomb next to that of Ḥar-ḥotpe. Here there had been thrown some pieces of broken pots on which the *Ka*-servant had jotted down memoranda with a bit of charcoal; a scrap torn out of a papyrus scroll of hymns, on the back of which he had written an account of corn given to a dozen different people; and a second sheet with an account of wheat, barley, and dates "expended in rations for the army"—probably a tax return in which Ḥar-ḥotpe's *Ka*-servant was involved as the proprietor of the tomb endowment.

A few days after these papers were found it happened that we were going over some of the left-overs from the tomb of Meket-Rē which we had laid aside in the busy days when we were repairing the models two years before. Among them there was a bundle of torn and crumpled papyri which had been buried in a hole in the causeway of the tomb. When we came to unfold them we found that we had parts of a most carefully drawn-up list of commodities and the heading of a "Statement of land which the Sovereign—to whom be life, safety,

and health—gave to the *Ka*-servant Ipi.” Evidently this was an endowment, made by the king for the tomb of his favorite Meket-Rē, in the form of a grant to the *Ka*-servant, who was to administer it for the benefit of the deceased. Along with this account the *Ka*-servant had thrown away a letter which immediately excited our interest. It is a typical oriental letter, just such as would be written in Egypt to-day, in which only one third is taken up with the message that is its object, and the rest is devoted to those flowery greetings which always make such an appeal in the East. But to us the value of the letter lay in these very salutations, for among them the writer invokes the gods of Memphis and Heracleopolis. Now it was probably hardly within the lifetime of Meket-Rē that the royal house of Heracleopolis, reigning in Memphis over the north of Egypt, was overthrown by Neb-ḥepet-Rē of Thebes at the end of a rebellion which had lasted for about four generations. No Theban of those days would be invoking the gods of Memphis and Heracleopolis, and therefore we concluded that this letter must have been written in the North by someone whose lifelong devotion to the local pantheon was not to be upset by mere political changes. The letter deals with matters of routine on an estate evidently belonging to Ipi, probably as part of “the land which the Sovereign gave to the *Ka*-servant.”

Within a short time we came unexpectedly on another case of the spoiling of the Memphites. That other and greater Ipi, who was buried in the big tomb by the modern tourist path, had evidently received as his reward for services rendered to the sovereign one estate at Ded-isūt in the suburbs of Memphis, and another elsewhere in the North, where his *Ka*-servant, Ḥeka-nakhte, spent half of his time.

The Ḥeka-nakhte Papers are among the foremost finds from our Theban excavations and about the most intimate self-portrait that any Egyptian of the day has left us. That we can appreciate them as such is due to the fortunate circumstance that Battiscombe Gunn had come to Luxor at the conclusion of the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations at Amārneḥ and was able to stay with us long enough to give us a preliminary translation of them as we unrolled them. The small tomb of Ḥesem had been prepared long before it was used as a place of burial, and while it stood empty the stone masons and the priest camped in it, the masons scattering over the floor their mauls and beams and leather sacks, and the priest throwing among them his old letters and memoranda. Then came the day when Ḥesem was to be buried. The floor of the tomb was swept out,

and a hole in the passage leading to the vault below was filled with whatever came handiest—which luckily included the papers.

Evidently all but one of these papyri belonged to a single batch, thrown away together. That one has come down to us as a couple of tantalizing scraps of a letter from a daughter to her mother. At the end the daughter says, “Salute Ger in life, safety, and health, and do not let him fail to write me about what has happened to him.” The mother seems to have decided that the surest way to pass her daughter's message on to the delinquent young man was simply to readdress and forward her letter to him, and therefore she rubbed her own name off the back and wrote in its place “The Steward Ger.”

Of the remaining seven documents one is a mere scrap, but there are three letters and three inventories practically complete. In fact, one letter was still folded and sealed, ready to be forwarded to the address written on the outside. The accounts all deal with the property of the *Ka*-servant Ḥeka-nakhte, but the thing that puzzled us considerably at first was the fact that two of the letters were addressed “The *Ka*-servant Ḥeka-nakhte presents this to his Household of Nebesyt,” and the third—the sealed one—was addressed to the Overseer Rē-nofer from Ḥeka-nakhte. The point was—how did it happen that the letters *from* Ḥeka-nakhte were being received where we should expect him to be? However, Ḥeka-nakhte in his quality of *Ka*-servant was proprietor of the tomb endowment left by Ipi, including the estates in the North. From time to time it was needful that he should take ship down to Memphis to supervise them. That Memphis was the locality of one of these estates is evident from the fact that his letter to Rē-nofer was written by one of the public scribes of Memphis with the profuse greetings, almost word for word, and in a handwriting identical with the letter found in the tomb of Meket-Rē. Furthermore, another letter shows that the family was in possession of grain from Ded-isūt, a Memphite suburb. Another estate lay farther up the Nile than Memphis, but still far from Thebes. Now a journey to Memphis was arduous, and Ḥeka-nakhte's visits to the estates there extended to eighteen months on one occasion, and therefore he set his affairs thoroughly in order before he left, and appointed his eldest son, Mersu, manager of his business at home and his substitute as *Ka*-servant during his own absence. It was Mersu, therefore, acting as tomb priest for his father off on his journeys, who had brought the old man's papers up to the tomb to study them out.

Nebesyt, the home of the family, presented another difficulty because it was only a small village which had never figured in the

inscriptions. Naturally, it was at no greater distance from Thebes than would be convenient for a priest to go and come from the tomb, perhaps only some ten or fifteen miles away, between Gebelein and Rizeikāt, at the bend in the river which was infested with crocodiles in ancient times and where the religion of the riverside peasants was largely directed to the propitiation of the crocodile-god Sobk. Hence, we run across villages near Nebesyt called Iu-sobku and Sunu-sobku—the “Island” and the “Stronghold of the Sacred Crocodiles”—and people of the neighborhood called Si-sobk and Wej-sobk. Khepesht and Sepat-mat were other villages nearby where the family rented land and stored their crops.

Before the first of his trips of which we know, he calls in Mersu, two other grown sons, and his confidential man Ḥety son of Nakhte, and spreading a large sheet of papyrus across his knees he begins to take stock of his affairs (pl. 33). He starts out: “5th Year of the Reign, 2nd Month of Shōmu, 9th Day.” To Ḥeka-nakhte, writing a date that way was as natural as writing “5/2/9” would be to us, but it was only from finding this account in the sealed tomb that we could guess that the reign of Sṯankh-ka-Rē was meant. In theory, the Shōmu was the harvest season, but as the Egyptian had no leap year, seasons came around one day earlier every fourth year, until in the reign of Sṯankh-ka-Rē the Shōmu had come in the autumn. For us, therefore, the date would be September 16, 2012 B.C.

Below the date follow the heading, “Statement of Ḥeka-nakhte’s barley,” and the sub-headings, “Made over by him to his son Mersu,” “Fodder for the Bulls,” and “The barley that Ḥeka-nakhte has obtained for his dependents,” all duly itemized, with spelt (which was only worth two thirds as much as barley) written in red to prevent mistakes in addition. Next comes a “Statement of Bulls that Ḥeka-nakhte has made over to his son Si-neb-nūt” with thirty-five head of cattle listed under five breeds, and a note: “But if Si-neb-nūt appeals to me about any bull that is missing . . . half the loss shall be upon him and Ḥety, son of Nakhte.” Finally comes a “Statement of bread given to Mersu son of Ḥeka-nakhte” of three different kinds giving a grand total of 7000 loaves. Seven thousand loaves of bread would have seemed an immoderately large baking, if I had not been acquainted with Ḥeka-nakhte’s descendants. Many of them bake only every other month little biscuits that will keep indefinitely but that are so stony hard that they must be soaked in soup before the toughest jaws can crack them.

Let us hope that Mersu was faithful in his stewardship and that

Si-neb-nūt did not have to “appeal about any bull that was missing.” In any case, we do not know what befell the family on that first trip of old Ḥeka-nakhte’s. We have the account simply because Mersu preserved it, and when his father was preparing for a second trip in the Eighth Year, the old scroll was brought out again, and the economical old man found plenty of room to write out another inventory on it. This time he is leaving for Memphis in May or June. The crops have been harvested, and $55\frac{1}{4}$ bushels of barley and spelt are left with Mersu or stored with some thirteen other people in the neighborhood, but it is still too early for the grain to have been milled and baked. The cattle are not listed on this sheet—but the letters refer to them—and there is added to the cares of the family a grove of trees from which timber is to be sold. When all was in order the old fellow set sail for Memphis and Ded-isūt.

Ḥeka-nakhte’s first letter was written just after he had returned from Ded-isūt to his other Memphite estates—“when I came hither southwards.” It was still summer, for he wanted Mersu to send “five bushels of wheat and what thou canst find in barley, and also the surplus of your victuals until you get to the Shōmu,” which began on August 8th. In fact, he probably wrote it before the first of August, for the inundation was still not high enough to predict its eventual quality, and the letter contains instructions in case “it turns out to be a good Nile.” The Nile, in fact, had just begun to rise and Mersu, in the midst of cultivating his summer crops, had written that he feared his dykes might not hold and that the waters might burst over his fields before he could reap them. The old man, too indignant to waste time on the greetings which were half the zest of letter writing, dashes off his reply (pl. 33):

“The *Ka*-servant Ḥeka-nakhte addresses Mersu:

“As to any flooding on our land, it is thou who art cultivating it. Woe to all my people with thee! I shall hold thee responsible for it. Be very active in cultivating, and be very careful. Guard the produce of my grain—guard everything of mine, for I shall hold thee responsible for it.” Half-way through the letter some association of ideas again calls to his mind this possibility of losing a crop, and again he bursts forth, “and if my land floods when Sneferu cultivates with thee and Anūpu—woe to thee and Si-Ḥat-Ḥor!”

It is worth noting that the next letter of Ḥeka-nakhte’s which we have was written almost a year later, during which time he remained in the north. Naturally, the hectoring old man wrote often during this long absence to his household in Nebesyt, telling them

what he wanted done about this or that at home. He refers to a letter written on New Year's Day about offerings "for a first-of-the-month feast to the God Khent-ekhtay of the Temple of the Double Portal," and to two letters about his boy Anūpu, but these Mersu did not carry up to the tomb. It was a letter written early in the following summer, about July 1st, which Mersu next saved. The Nile of the past winter had turned out to be so direfully low that the fields were parched, the crops had failed, and with last year's stores of food now exhausted, famine was stalking after the disastrous harvest. Old Ḥeka-nakhte is in a different mood this time, and he does not forget to write those salutations with which a letter should begin:

"The son speaks to his mother; the *Ka*-servant Ḥeka-nakhte to his mother Ipi, and to Ḥetepet: How are you in your life, safety, and health, by the blessings of the God Montu, Lord of Thebes?

"To the whole household: How are you? How are you in your life, safety, and health? Do not worry about me; I am alive and well.

"Behold, you are as one who eats until he sates hunger, until he shuts his eyes, while the entire land is dead with famine.

"I have come hither southwards, and I have obtained your victuals as well as possible. Is the Nile not very low? Well behold, we have obtained victuals in proportion to it. Be patient you who are named, for you see I have been able to support you up to to-day." Then he inserts a list of the shares due each from the rations he is sending, and continues:

"Now you must not be angry about this. See the whole household as well as the children are dependent on me and everything is mine. 'Half-life is better than dying altogether,' and they say 'the hungry must hunger.' Why, they have begun to eat men and women here! There are none anywhere else to whom such victuals are given.

"You must keep yourself going until I reach you. I shall spend the Shōmu here"—in other words, until the thirtieth of next December. His more particular instructions he begins: "The *Ka*-servant Ḥeka-nakhte addresses Mersu and Ḥety son of Nakhte together:

"You must give these victuals to my people only while they are doing work. Mind this! Make the most of all my land; strive to the uttermost; dig the ground with your noses in the work. See, if you are industrious one will praise God for you. Lucky that I can support you.

"And any one of the women or men who may spurn the victuals, let him come to me here and stay with me and live as I live—not that there is anyone who will come hither to me!"

The management of the farms in Nebesyt and the neighborhood takes up a good share of what follows in both of these letters. One might hazard a pretty shrewd guess on which of these transactions Mersu was engaged when he carried his sheaf of papers to the tomb. Instructions for undertaking it come in the first letter:

"Have Ḥety son of Nakhte go down at once with Si-neb-nūt to Per-haa to cultivate two fields of land on lease. They will take its rental from the cloth that has been woven here. 'Excellent' thou wilt exclaim about the fabric. Let them get it, and when it has been sold in Nebesyt, let them rent the land with its proceeds. Find land—but do not rush on to just anybody's land. Enquire of Hau the Younger, and if you do not find he has any, then you should follow the advice of Rēṯ-nofer—it is he who can put you on to the good, well-watered land of Khepesht.

"And with regard to whatever Ḥety son of Nakhte may do in Per-haa, see I did not credit him with victuals. The allowance for one month is 5 bushels of barley, and I shall credit another extra $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of barley to his family on the first of the month. See, if thou disobeyest this I shall make it up from thee by deduction. And as to what I have told thee—'give him 5 bushels of barley per month'—thou must give him only 4 bushels of barley per month; mind this!"

As it turned out, Hau had no land to rent, but Rēṯ-nofer had a field adjoining Hau's which Si-neb-nūt and Ḥety procured. Besides this, Mersu had entered into several other transactions in Per-haa. One copy of his papers was among those which we found, and presumably another was forwarded to his father, for some of the grain held in Iu-sobku by Ipi the Younger and in Sepat-mat by Nehri, son of Ipi, is transferred by Ḥeka-nakhte to Rēṯ-nofer in the third letter. The second letter gives suggestions on closing up the Rēṯ-nofer business and selling the crop for oil, and with it he sends this third one which Si-neb-nūt and Ḥety were to have taken to Rēṯ-nofer with full instructions for winding up the affair. For some reason it was never delivered, and Mersu threw it away all folded and sealed just as he had received it.

It is the letter drawn up by a scribe in Memphis, and as an example of the urbane style of the public writers of the metropolis it is worth quoting in full:

"The Servant of the Estate, the *Ka*-servant Ḥeka-nakhte says:

"May thy condition be like that of one who lives a million times! May the God Ḥeri-shaf, Lord of Heracleopolis, and all the gods that are, aid thee! May the God Ptah, south of his Memphite Wall,

gladden thy heart as one who lives long! May thy rewards be excellent from Ḥeri-shaf, Lord of Heracleopolis!

"Thy servant says:

"Let thy clerk—to whom be given life, safety, and health—know that I have sent Ḥety, son of Nakhte, and Si-neb-nūy about that barley and spelt at thy place. Also, what thy clerk—life, safety, and health—might do, is to have it withdrawn without allowing the least of it to go astray, if thou wilt be so good, please. And as to the price when it is collected, let it be placed in the house of thy clerk—life, safety, and health—until somebody comes for it. And see, I have had this grain put to the corn measure and measured. It is a neat 100 full sacks.

"And see, 75 bushels of spelt are at Per-haa with Nenneksu; $67\frac{1}{2}$ of barley with Ipi the Younger at Iu-sobku; at Sepat-mat with Nehri, son of Ipi, are 100 bushels of spelt, and with his brother Desher, 15. Total: 290 bushels of spelt, and $67\frac{1}{2}$ of barley.

"And he who would give me the equivalent in oil must give me a *hebenet*-measure for 10 bushels of barley or for 15 of spelt. However, I prefer my property to be given me in barley.

"And do not fail to write about Nakhte and about everything for which he may come to thee. He looks after all my property."

Timber from the grove of trees on the estate had been disposed of, and Si-neb-nūt's allowance in the second letter is to be made up from the sale. Si-Ḥat-Ḥor is renting a piece of land and 5 lbs. of copper is sent him to pay the rent. There is still another leasing business in which Mersu "has made it difficult for me, renting the land as well as sowing it in barley alone." By so doing he has cut into the old man's store of ready barley and is particularly warned against further inroads. Among some general remarks on this point Ḥeka-nakhte notes that "25 bushels of barley from one acre is not a bad return." On another farm Mersu is instructed to transact the business in flax. Ḥeka-nakhte had left the produce of about four acres in flax when he went away in the Fifth Year, and Mersu had an account on this occasion with a woman named Sit-neb-sekhm which seems to have included nearly as much flax again.

So much as has already been quoted of the letters has served to introduce the oldest son, Mersu. As his father saw him he was perhaps a little stupid and sometimes complaining, but at least he was dependable, and Ḥeka-nakhte looks to him to run the complicated affairs of the family and to keep the house in order. Si-neb-nūt and the family's confidential man, Ḥety, son of Nakhte, are Mersu's

main helpmates, but the third son, Si-Ḥat-Ḥor, we meet with in a less attractive light. In the first letter he had made a suggestion to Mersu which scandalizes old Ḥeka-nakhte: "As to sending Si-Ḥat-Ḥor to me with old, dried-up barley from Ded-isūt and not giving me the 50 bushels in new barley—by no means! But thou art happy eating the good barley. 'I am on land and the boat is well moored, but when thou putttest ashore thou doest everything wrong.' If thou shouldst have sent me old barley to do duty for new—but what am I saying? Much good it is!" In the second letter Mersu is told to watch Si-Ḥat-Ḥor whenever he comes to the house.

The three older brothers and Ḥety are all married and have families of their own living in the household of Nebesyt, and there are besides, women and children in Ḥeka-nakhte's own harīm who bring the number of mouths to be fed up to at least thirty.

There was Ipi, his mother, and her maid, and with his mother Ḥeka-nakhte greets a poor relation called Ḥetepet who has with her a little son Mey. Whether Ḥetepet was interfering or whether she was a bore is not divulged. In any case she was far from popular with Mersu, and Ḥeka-nakhte is constrained to write: "I have told you, 'do not keep a woman-friend of Ḥetepet's away from her, whether a relative of hers or an acquaintance of hers.' Take great care of her, and I hope you will prosper in all things accordingly—although to be sure thou dost not wish her with thee."

In addition to the three married sons there were two boys, Anūpu and Sneferu. Neither one was old enough to be put to work when Ḥeka-nakhte went away in the Fifth Year, and therefore they do not appear in a list of rations which he left at that time, but on his second trip to the North, three years later, they are always present in his mind. "Take great care of Anūpu and Sneferu," he writes, "whether thou livest with them or diest with them. Mind this!" To Anūpu, who was the elder of the two and who was already old enough to help Mersu and Si-Ḥat-Ḥor with the summer crops that came so near being flooded, this parental attention by the older brother was a little too much. During the winter he complained to the old man, and Mersu is ordered to "give back to him any article of Anūpu's that thou hast, and whatever is missing compensate him for it. Do not make me write to thee about it again. I have already written to thee twice about it."

But the youngest, a spoiled brat, Sneferu, is really his father's favorite. He was still a mere boy, and when his father went away no special allowance was given him, but later Ḥeka-nakhte decides

otherwise and writes to Mersu: "See, if Sneferu has no allowance in the house with thee, do not fail to write about it. I have been told that he is discontented. Take great care of him and give him victuals. And salute him from Khent-ekhtay a thousand times, a million times. Take great care of him, and thou must send him off to me directly after thou hast cultivated." However, traveling with the crotchety old man hardly meets Sneferu's idea of a good time. He plainly refused to go, and the next summer we find the old man rather plaintively writing: "And if Sneferu should want to look after the bulls, then put him to look after them, for he doesn't want to be running up and down cultivating with thee, nor does he want to come hither with me. Indeed, whatever he wants thou must let him enjoy it." Poor Mersu!

There was a certain Ren-ka-es with a family—perhaps a married and widowed daughter living at home—and three other very small children, including a little girl Neferet, but there is no mother of all these children, and the conclusion is that Heka-nakhte was a widower. Still one would have thought that with that overgrown household of his he had troubles enough. Not at all, he must needs take a concubine to himself, named Iut-en-ḥēb. The feelings of his family can be pictured clearly enough from the old fellow's irate messages to them:

"And have the housemaid Senen turned out of my house at once, and be very careful every day that Si-Ḥat-Ḥor visits thee. Behold, if Senen spends a single day in the house, thou wilt be to blame if thou lettest her do harm to my concubine. What am I supporting thee for, and what can my concubine do to you, you five boys?

"Salute my mother Ipi a thousand times, a million times, and salute Hetepet and the whole household and Neferet. And as to doing any harm to my concubine, take warning! Thou art not associated with me as a partner. If thou wouldst keep quiet, it would be a very good thing."

The East has never changed, and if we jump four thousand years for the cause of this quarrel, I believe we shall find it in the diary of H. E. Ching Shan, written in Pekin under the date of January 31, 1900.

"My son's wife is most undutiful; this evening she had a quarrel with my senior concubine, and the two women almost came to blows. Women are indeed difficult to manage. I am seventy-eight years of age and sore troubled by my family; their misconduct is hard for an old man to bear."⁶

⁶ Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager*, p. 260.

No tirades of Heka-nakhte's could ever calm the troubled home, and the following summer the old man gives way and does what he should have done in the beginning. He writes: "Thou shalt send me Iut-en-ḥēb. As this man lives—I speak of our tenant Ip—he who shall interfere in any way with the concubine, he is against me and I am against him. Behold, this is my concubine, and it is well known that a man's concubine ought to be treated well. See, there is not any one who would do for her the like of what I have done. Even if none of you would be patient should his wife be denounced to him, let me be patient. But how can I ever live with you in one establishment, if you will not respect a concubine for my sake?"

We may be sure that nothing ever came of Heka-nakhte's insinuation that since Mersu is not a partner in his father's affairs he may be shown the door, or of his threats that he will turn all of his sons out of the establishment. Heka-nakhte relished far too much the opportunity of reminding them that they were "eating his bread" and that "everything was his and the whole household dependent on him." He was a fussy and hectoring old fellow whose letters were prodigally strewn with "Mind this," "Be very careful and be very active," and "I shall hold thee responsible for it." "Do not fail to answer about everything I have written thee about," he insists, "for see, this is a year for a man to work for his master"; or again, "this is not a year for a man to be negligent towards his master, or his father, or his brother."

Mersu may well have heaved a great sigh when Iut-en-ḥēb was sent off and the old man wrote that he would be away another six months, but the writer, for one, hates to say good-bye to old Heka-nakhte and his lady—with all of their faults.

SEASON OF 1922-1923

We had, by the season of 1922-23, accomplished a good deal on the Eleventh Dynasty monuments.¹ On the hills looking down on the avenue which led to the Neb-hepet-Rē temple the courtiers were buried, ranged in death in two long ranks on either side of their earthly lord. In the higher and more prominent hills on the north side the most influential courtiers obtained sites for their tombs, and there shoulder to shoulder, stood most of the great dignitaries of the day.

We had cleared from the neighborhood of Deir el Baḥri to a point east of the tourist path to the Valley of the Kings, where the rock is of a character which discouraged the ancient quarrymen. Once more the hill took on something of the aspect it had in the Eleventh Dynasty (pl. 15). Each tomb door stood open, black and square, and the slope up to it was once more graded so that the walls on either side of the ramps stood out dividing the front yards of each grandee, one from another. To do this we had spread our rubbish thinly over the surface, preserving the ancient slopes even where it had meant long and difficult carries with as many as eight basket-boys behind each man digging.

The hillside had been parceled out into building lots, all about the same width and all more or less parallel, running up and down the slope. Each proprietor fenced in his lot with brick or field-stone walls, leaving a gateway at the foot of the hill. Just within the gate at least one built a little square chapel to house a statue of himself, in order that on the feast days his descendants and his *Ka*-servants might perform there the necessary ceremonies for the repose and prosperity of his soul. It was a practical idea, for the climb up the slope to the tomb itself was a test of filial piety which would be enough to discourage any but the most conscientious and sound-winded. Behind the chapel rose the bare, smooth ramp, graded with the limestone chip thrown out by the quarrymen who made the court and tomb above.

One of the most typical of the hillside tombs is that of the Chancellor Khety, overlooking the temple court from these northern heights.² The naturally steep cliff at the top of the hill was cut to an almost

¹ *Bulletin*, 1923, December, II, p. 11.

² Service des Antiquités, No. 311. Just before we discovered the tomb we had made a mistake in reading Khety's title on linen from the tomb of 'Ashayet, making him a "Master-Spinner." This error appeared in the *Bulletin*, December, 1923, II, p. 12, but was corrected in December, 1924, II, p. 13.

perpendicular face, and because the rock was badly fissured, a high brick façade, plastered and whitewashed, was built against it. In the center was the tomb doorway with a flight of brick steps ascending through it (pl. 15). Halfway up this stairway was the red granite altar, carved with prayers that Khety might receive a burial in the West

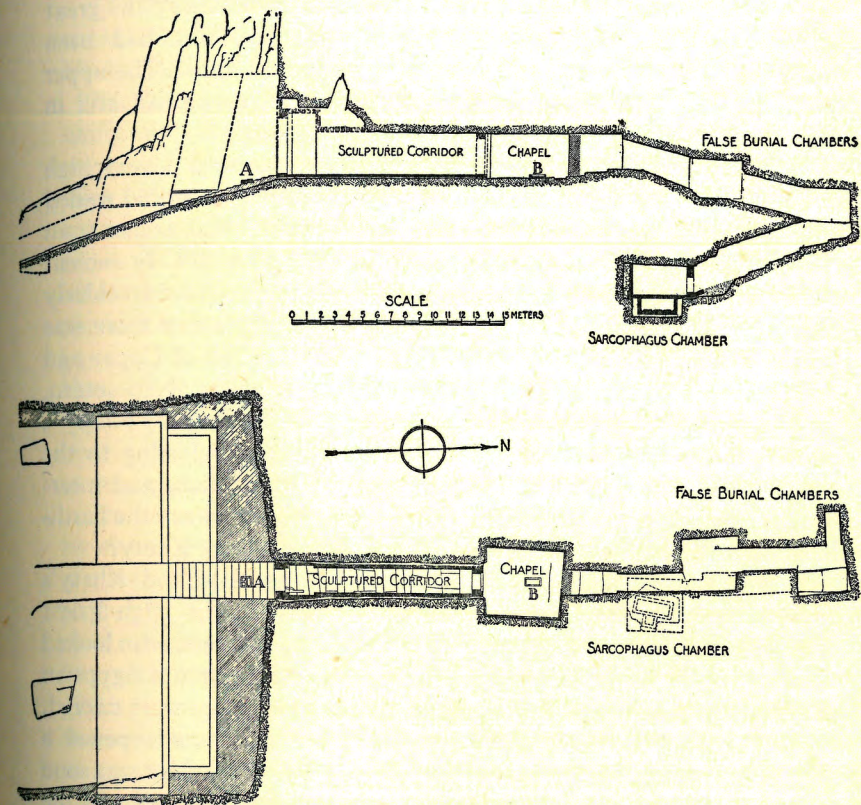


FIG. 7. THE TOMB OF THE CHANCELLOR KHETY

from Anubis, god of the Sacred Land, and numerous provisions in his tomb in the Divine Land from Osiris, the Great God. Two basins cut in it were provided for the offering of any pious passerby who might find the tomb door locked, and in a third were carved a heap of joints, like the coins left in plain sight on the counter by a hotel cloak-room attendant, to decoy tips.

At the top of the steps, behind the altar, once stood the massive

wooden door of the tomb, painted white and bearing Khety's name in a carved panel. By a lucky chance we found half of one such door still in place in a nearby tomb (pl. 15). Originally, the caretaker of the tomb had kept it sealed—we found broken seals on the floor under it—but thieves had broken into the tomb ages ago. A fall of rock half buried it; wasps had honeycombed it for wood fiber to make their paper nests; ancient quarrymen had come and carted away the great stone doorjambs; and later generations of Egyptians had been carried in their coffins over the top of it to be buried inside. The upper half gradually was destroyed, but we found the lower half still in place, and we were able to photograph it as it stood.

Pushing open the door of Khety's tomb one entered a very high and lofty corridor, paved and roofed with sandstone slabs and walled with fine white limestone, elaborately carved with those scenes from Khety's life which he desired to repeat in the next world. In ancient times it was a sight well worth the laborious climb even for an elderly tourist. Seven hundred and fifty years after Khety's day there was neatly written on the wall: "The Year 17 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ramesses II: The High Priest of Amūn, Neb-neteru, (pays a visit) to the father, of his father, [of his father] Khety". Similar formulae sometimes are taken literally, as referring to the actual great-grandfather of the writer of the inscription, and interesting conclusions are drawn from them—but will any have the hardihood to make Neb-neteru the actual great-grandson of Khety?

There came a tragic day in Thebes when there visited Khety's tomb those less respectful to their ancestors than the High Priest Neb-neteru. They were the makers of limestone platters, who looked critically at the bas-reliefs, not for their elaborate pictures of Egyptian life, but for the fine quality of the stone on which they were carved. Forthwith they installed themselves in the corridor and opened a factory for stone dishes. Down came the walls, and the floor was soon buried deep in chips as the wheels of industry busily turned and the cavern echoed with their chisels and their mallets. For us they left nothing but brilliantly colored flakes with tantalizing bits of pictures of Khety's huntsman, his "Treasurer of the Estate," his "Master Ploughman," or the top of his stela, carved into the semblance of the intricate fanlight which topped the great door of his house, as it does the great door on Meket-Rē's model. Two chips which we brought home show how a platter had split in the making before the dogs chasing gazelles across a rose-colored desert had been completely obliterated.

At the back of the corridor was the square chapel of the tomb (pl. 16). In its center stood Khety's statue, expectantly awaiting the offerings brought on New Year's day and the other holidays. To-day nothing remains but the stone on which it stood, and around the walls only a few ragged paintings picturing his servants butchering, baking, and brewing and bringing to him all manner of meat and drink.

The ancient visitor could go no further into the tomb, and he could only guess that somewhere beyond in the rock Khety lay in his sarcophagus.

The floor gave no sign and the walls were painted and plastered uniformly all around, but to-day the paintings and the plaster are gone, and the mouth of a tunnel gapes directly behind the statue base. One walks along a few paces, and then down a slope to another square chamber which in its day appeared again to be the end of the series of crypts. But the persevering thieves recognized that this was only a blind and broke through the further wall; descended another corridor to a second blind; through the floor of that into still another passage which turned them back on their tracks; and sliding down that, arrived at Khety's final resting-place. Even yet, all of the futile ingenuity of the tomb planner was not exhausted. No sarcophagus was in sight, but it was a fairly simple matter to detect that it was merely buried underfoot.

The sarcophagus chamber of Khety has been left in place, protected by a steel door. Damaged as it is, still it is one of very few in Thebes of all of the burial crypts of the nobles of the day sufficiently preserved to give an idea of what the others must have been (pl. 16). The native rock is a miserable medium for a decorator to work with, and therefore with fine white limestone blocks the four walls were built up to give a surface almost as smooth as bristol board. On this were painted the equipment and the provender which Khety wanted—and there was nothing mean about his desires. Jewels, perfume pots, bows, arrows, and battleaxes were requisitioned by the hundreds and by the thousands. On either side of the room the tables groaned with vegetables and fruits, loaves and joints, and above was the astounding menu of the meal of the dead, running to one hundred dishes.

A smaller tomb, near the eastern end of the line, like several others in the cemetery, had a secret statue chamber cut in the cliff high above. There was no means of approach except by a scramble up the rocks, and in ancient times the doorway was doubtless blocked up and invisible. When all else was destroyed in the tomb below, the statues hidden here above would still supply the dead man's soul

with a corporeal dwelling-place. That his hope was well founded is proved by the fact that these little statues still sat up there at his soul's disposition four thousand years after his death—only his soul will now have to move to the Cairo Museum to inhabit them. One of the statues was of alabaster and the other of gritstone, and both had carved across the knees of the shawl in which the little squatting figures were tightly wrapped, the name "Nefer-hotep the Bowman" (pl. 35).

In the courtyard of the tomb below there was a little chicken-coop shaped shrine of bricks with a limestone altar lying beside it, made for Nefer-hotep's mother, Nebet-iōtef, and Meryet, daughter of Henu, presumably his wife. Thrown out from the tomb we found Nefer-hotep's quiver full of arrows, sadly decayed and only vaguely showing traces of the pierced leatherwork with which it was once gaudily decorated. In the passages there was a fragment of a magnificent blue faience hippopotamus rearing up and roaring mightily—quarry for Nefer-hotep's chase in the Elysian Fields—and with it a little faience dancing girl, clad only in a cowrie-shell girdle and tattooing, to amuse him after the hunt (pl. 35).

In the great court of the temple we located all of the unfinished tree holes of the central walk which we had not found the year before, and discovered in front of them two headless statues of Neb-hepet-Rē, lying just under the surface where they had been buried at some time when the temple was being cleaned up and put in order. Their chief interest lies in the fact that the statue of the king buried in the cenotaph called Bab el Hosān was a third from the same set.

We shifted the tourist road to Deir el Baḥri and cleared away the Egypt Exploration Fund's dump which covered the line of the eastern wall of the great court. Vestiges of the foundations existed all along the front, and from them we discovered a most curious state of affairs. We had known that the causeway was not on the axis of the court. This year we found that the southern alley—but not the northern—for several hundred yards at its upper end at least, was paved with brick, and that the gateway from it into the great court was in line with the two rows of trees which led up to the temple. And yet we still were convinced that the Eleventh Dynasty avenue had three alleys, the middle one narrow and each one of the outer two as wide as Hat-shepsūt's entire approach. Ideas are awfully hard to kill.

While we were clearing the foundations of the eastern wall of the court we ran across an interesting technical detail of ancient engineering. In re-cleaning the southern colonnade of the temple to plan it, a

little square limestone block had been found, set flush with the ground level of the court, beside the colonnade curbstone. On it was scratched a cross mark. In clearing the eastern wall of the great court, against its inner curb a similar stone was found in line from the first (pl. 4). We then recalled that the year before the men had turned up casually one or two other little flat stones marked with a cross, more or less midway in the court. Evidently there had been a line of these markers at intervals eastward from the temple. In this distance of a little over 200 meters the ground rises about 5 meters from the front to the back, and these had been the surveyors' grading marks. The builders had only to provide themselves with a set of three wooden instruments shaped like a T and all of the same length. With one held on the stone by the temple and another on that at the front of the court, the third T could be placed by eye from the two ends of the line, the intermediate stones set, and the court graded from them.

Another relic of those building operations of four thousand years ago came up equally unexpectedly. Several times in the great bank of shale chip with which the causeway and the eastern part of the court was graded, we found the carcasses of bullocks. One's first idea in Egypt is always to search for a religious significance for any such discovery, and we did find one heifer, buried in a small grave near the northeast corner of the court, with its four feet tied together and a clot of earth by its throat solidified by congealed blood, which showed it was a sacrifice. This was not the case, however, with the bullocks, because in at least two cases the skin was intact, and it was evident that their throats had not been cut. Nor were they properly buried; they lay just as they had been rolled over the bank of chips and had been simply covered over as the bank had been extended. In a couple of cases this had taken time, and the jackals had eaten away half of the carcasses before they were completely hidden. Finally, the bones of these animals were those of great, massive, aged bullocks, far different from the lightly built, immature animals butchered for meat in the grave of Ashayet and in the different foundation deposits we have found, and evidently we had here the worn-out, work oxen which had died dragging stone-sledges to the temple during the building. They add another stock to the early Egyptian cattle which we have discovered, and our admiration grows for those ancient breeders who could develop strains which varied in size from a dwarf animal of about the bigness of a sheep to a full-sized ox, either with horns three feet long or absolutely none at all, and of nearly every color of the rainbow.

Since the discovery of the temple by Naville some score of years

before, wind and sun and the rare rainstorms had done their share toward disintegrating parts of it. Especially the platform, cut in the soft local shale had shown signs of crumbling away, and this was pointed out to M. Lacau. To preserve the last vestiges of so important a monument, M. Baraize of the Service des Antiquités was sent to restore the ancient revetment around the platform, and we undertook to collect stones and do the necessary grading and filling.

Our share of the task was especially welcome, for it gave us the opportunity to dispose of the quantities of rock piled in the triangular court north of the temple which had presumably been cleared both at the time that Naville worked on the Ḥat-shepsūt temple and when he found that of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ. Carter had told us that in the first of these campaigns there had been found one or two grave pits of the Eleventh Dynasty under the porch of the Eighteenth Dynasty Ḥat-Ḥor chapel, and during the second campaign, Hall had found two more grave pits in the court. We suspected that others formed a row between them, and we therefore took a chance and re-cleared the whole court.

Our guess was amply verified. We discovered ten more pits crowded into the space between those already known. One we arrived at under the Ḥat-shepsūt temple by driving a gallery through the rock until we reached it—and we got credit with our workmen for some supernatural power of smelling a pit even through the rock.

All of these pits had been plundered ages ago and grewsome bundles of torn rags and bones seemed to be all that we brought up from them into the daylight. But beside some extremely important pathological specimens, two nearly complete mummies turned out to be those of dancing girls who had once been inmates of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ' s harīm, tattooed exactly like the little faience figure from the tomb of Nefer-hotep the Bowman (pl. 35). Fortunately, at this time we had the assistance of Dr. Douglas E. Derry, the professor of anatomy at the Kasr el ʿAiny Medical School. With his help we drew diagrams, measuring directly from the mummies the proportions of their frames and filling out the outlines of their shrunken limbs from the indications which he detected. On these outlines we could place the tattooing exactly as it must have appeared on the living bodies, and from other marks on the skin we could indicate with considerable accuracy the lost necklaces, bracelets, and girdles which had been placed upon the dancing girls when they were buried.

Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ built his temple some two thousand years before Christ. Roughly five hundred years later Thut-mose II was buried in

the Valley of the Kings, and within a few years his wife, Ḥat-shepsūt, in her own honor planned a great fane. The avenue from the cultivated fields to the new temple was laid out on a line practically parallel to the avenue of the older one, and to-day tourists on donkeys and in motors approach her temple along this ancient roadway. Since both avenues were built up on embankments across a shallow valley, the space between them at their upper ends was a shut-in hollow. This hollow between the avenues was exactly right for level and, hidden as it was between the two banks, it had every appearance of always having been just what we wanted to use it for again—a dumping place. We merely had to take the precaution of assuring ourselves that there was nothing of importance in it, and therefore set our gang to clearing it out. It was one of those routine jobs which take time and promise nothing of interest.

In the bottom of the hollow were broken pots, drifted sand, and now and then signs of an ancient workman's hovel. We could recognize the foot of the embankment on the right, for there it had been held up by roughly laid walls of fieldstones. As the men cleared along, drawing each day nearer and nearer the temples, we began to find broken ex-votos from Ḥat-Ḥor chapels up at Deir el Baḥrī. Among them there were innumerable scarabs, mostly of Thūt-mose III, but also bearing nearly all of the other royal names of the Eighteenth Dynasty from its founder, A ḥ-mōse I and his wife, A ḥ-mōse Neferet-iry, down to Amen-hotpe III. More and more of them were found on the left-hand side of the dig. At first they seemed to lie against the sides of the Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ bank, but eventually pockets of dirt containing them were found deeper and deeper in the bank itself, until finally the foundation stones of the Eleventh Dynasty side actually seemed to hang suspended above the men sifting Eighteenth Dynasty scarabs and beads out below.

Now if there is one self-evident axiom in digging, it is that things on top are later than things underneath. Yet here was what looked like an Eleventh Dynasty wall meters above scarabs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Everything had gone topsy-turvy. Were we to believe that the Eleventh Dynasty followed the Eighteenth?—for there was no question about the scarabs belonging to Thūt-mose III and we had both ends of the wall and thought that they were both built by Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ.

Of course we were wrong, but it was only in 1930 that we realized it. Then it was that we discovered that only the southernmost avenue with its brick pavement was built by King Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ Mentu-

hotpe in the Eleventh Dynasty. Close to its northern side King Menkheper-Rē^c Thūt-mose III, nearly six centuries later, erected another avenue parallel to it, and so close to it and so like it as to fool us for years.

The next day we set the men to work on top of the embankment. There was no difficulty whatever in following its sides for as we dug down we always found, south of what we then thought was "Hattie's hole," the shale perfectly clean, and inside of the hole evidently mixed rubbish containing scarabs, ostraca, pottery, and fragmentary statuary. As we dug this rubbish out we seemed to be going down into a great, gaping hole in the embankment filled entirely with Eighteenth Dynasty rubbish.

Curiously enough, almost directly under this rubbish we almost fell into an early Eighteenth Dynasty pit. The Mayor of Thebes, Yūy, who lived in the earliest years of the New Kingdom, had chosen for his grave a place a few yards north of the causeway to the Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c temple. The prospect of buried wealth beneath their feet was too much for the workmen of Ḥat-shepsūt's day, and they dug down to Yūy's burial chamber and fished out all that they found there. A magnificent life-sized statue was part of their plunder, and they split it up for the hard wood of which it was carved. A smaller statue of the old dignitary in his curious robe of office was hauled up and thrown aside with one arm and the two feet of the larger statue. With them were found two little scent bottles of black pottery with incised decoration filled with white—one a goose and the other twin vases joined together—the sort of things that servant girls carried on their fingers at a banquet. In the tomb there was a jumble of boards from Yūy's sarcophagi on which we could still read his name and rank, and fragments of a gilded wooden coffin covered with the feather pattern which was so fashionable in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

The hollow between the two embankments of Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c and of Ḥat-shepsūt were out of sight as soon as the boundary walls of the latter's avenue were built. The workmen employed at the new temple were therefore allowed to camp in it. In that rainless desert a few stones and broken bricks and an armful of reeds make a hovel which is all the protection that a frugal peasant needs from the chill night air. Such kennels were built by the workmen everywhere throughout the area, and among them we found their broken pots, the ashes from their hearths, and their tools mislaid or thrown away. Aside from the usual number of abandoned wooden hoes, our men produced one night a stick of brownish wood with a square hole in one end and a short line of

hieroglyphics down the front. At first glance it was the leg of a stool of a common enough kind, and it went among the odd bits of broken furniture in our storeroom. But on further consideration it evidently was not a stool leg. When one held it by the lower end—where the wood was dark and shiny from much handling—there could be seen the traces of two straps coming out of the hole above, and it became perfectly clear that this was the heavy, club-like handle of a whip (pl. 44). The hieroglyphics read "The Sailor of Sen-Mūt, Neb-īry." Now Sen-Mūt was Ḥat-shepsūt's architect, and immediately there arose the picture of his sailors toiling up the long straight road from the river to the temple, dragging the ponderous blocks of granite they had brought down from Aswān by boat, with Neb-īri, the boatswain, walking along beside, cracking the broad, heavy, leather lashes across their sweating backs. The driving whip of the charioteer which we found a couple of years before had little narrow thongs no wider than a pencil, but these lashes had been as wide as a man's leather belt. However, a maddened horse could kick a flimsy Egyptian chariot to pieces, while the patient fellāh learned to take his blows in silence.

Every day we found scraps of magnificent limestone statues. Some were fragments of colossal Osiride figures of the Queen, and others were from a set of her statues about twice life-size, of delightful workmanship and brilliant coloring. To-day they are only maddening relics of the spite of her stepson, Thūt-mose III, for limestone had been easily smashed into little bits. With hard stone it was somewhat more difficult for the iconoclasts. There had been a row of red granite figures of the Queen probably between the columns of one of the colonnades, for there were certainly at least ten of them. All were alike, showing Ḥat-shepsūt kneeling and offering to the god Amūn, probably, a large, globular vase with a spout shaped like an *ankh*-amulet (pl. 53). Each had been carved with an oblong base. The destruction gang first threw them all on their sides and then hammered them on their hips with a big maul until they snapped asunder at their weakest points, usually the waist and neck, and always along the top of their bases. We never discovered what became of the latter. Probably, being fairly regularly shaped oblong blocks, they made excellent corn grinders and were taken off to the city. The other bits were just a convenient size for one man to lift and were carried off to the nearest hole and dumped into it.

Five of these little statues were recovered practically entire. We can not claim that they are masterpieces, for they were intended more as architectural decoration than as pure sculpture. They have, however, the breadth and dignity that Egyptian sculpture almost invariably

has, and they are excellent specimens of one important technical point. The Egyptian was inordinately proud of his work in hard stones. The triumph of mastering the refractory medium filled him with satisfaction, and he took great joy in the surface and color and texture of granites for their own sake. Statues in such stones, therefore, were never painted except sparingly, and then only a few salient details were picked out. In these Ḥat-shepsūt statues the eyes only are colored to give life to the stone, and since they were broken up and buried only a few years after they were made, this paint is preserved marvelously.

There was a considerable accumulation of rubbish under the granite statues which looked like quarry chip from the grading of the temple platform and waste from the stone cutters' work during the building. The hole was a convenient place to dump all such rubbish out of sight, and throughout the Queen's life it served that purpose. After her death, work went on at the shrine of Ḥat-Ḥor which was built by Thūṭ-mose III. Unfortunately, however, rubbish dumping was not done in even layers. It came rather in pockets, and in some places it was piled and shored up with rough stone walls that went aimlessly here and there through the mass. Hence we could never definitely say whether any given pile was thrown in before Ḥat-shepsūt's death, or during Thūṭ-mose III's reign alone, and unless an antiquity found has some intrinsic evidence we can not date it more closely than to the reigns of these two sovereigns.

This is unfortunately the case with a whole mass of sketches on limestone flakes made during the two periods in the building of the Deir el Baḥri temples. Some of them were idle sketches of the workmen—a bandy-legged dwarf or a dog scratching his chin with his hind foot—and others were more serious experiments. One of the most charming bits that have ever come out of Egypt is on a flake of whitest limestone about the bigness of the palm of a man's hand. Some temple sculptor has been asked how he would draw a hippopotamus and, picking up this flake, he has portrayed a sedate beast of a purplish brown hue with pink eyes and belly, and an enormous jowl indicated with a few swift strokes of black (pl. 41). The majority of these sketches, however, are more professional—actual trials of details in the temple. A little bird was a hieroglyphic letter; a brilliantly colored duck was a study for an offering scene; but the most instructive of all was a flake on which was worked up a commonly recurring phrase in the inscriptions. The sculptor has tried three signs, altering them to his liking, and then squared them off for transference on to the temple walls, where they can be found today all finished.

The mechanical dexterity with which the Egyptian reproduced and repeated such common motives was strikingly illustrated for us by some fragments of the limestone base of a statue of Ḥat-shepsūt, broken up and thrown into the hole at Thūṭ-mose's command. We found these scraps scattered more or less widely through the rubbish and gathered them up carefully in hopes of completing the entire pedestal, but at the end of the season we still lacked the greater part. There was just enough to show that both sides had been decorated with a representation of Ḥat-shepsūt as a sphinx couchant. One lot of fragments made up the body of the sphinx from the right side, and another lot the head of the sphinx and the cartouche from the left, both facing the front of the pedestal. Here was a chance to test the accuracy with which such designs were transferred and repeated. We photographed the fragments which made up the head and cartouche, and then, without moving the camera, set up in the same place the fragments of the body of the sphinx. In taking this second photograph we used a film purposely put into the camera inside out, so that when a print was made from it in the normal way we had the picture reversed. The prints of the two were then joined, and we found that the lines of the two designs so nearly coincided that only the slightest touching up was necessary to make a composite photograph (pl. 45). Considering that when these two sphinxes were carved on the opposite sides of the block they were not visible one from the other and that neither tracings nor stencils were used, this mechanical accuracy of reproduction denotes a remarkable manual dexterity on the part of the artisans.

Another intimate bit from the sculptor's life turned up among the ruins of some of the workmen's hovels. An unfinished gravestone was found, showing a deceased gentleman and his two wives listening to the funerary prayer recited by his eldest son. Below come the words of the prayer, but the second line of inscription was only sketched in in ink, and the space for the name of the dead man was left blank. Since there was no Eighteenth Dynasty tombs thereabouts, plainly this was an unfinished piece of work that some sculptor engaged at the temple was doing in his off time with the idea of hawking it around the cemetery for sale.

The administrative side of building a temple was equally well represented in innumerable accounts and orders written on the ever-handly flakes of limestone. Filing business correspondence on chunks of rock presented certain practical difficulties, and the clerk of the works therefore consigned all of his old "papers" to the convenient rubbish

hole. Dr. Alan Gardiner and Dr. Ludlow Bull, who visited us during the winter, kindly examined several of them and gave us preliminary translations.

One small bit was the memorandum of an "issue of sandals on the 13th of the 3d Month of Shōmu to the overseer Ken-Amūn—11 pairs; and to the overseer Ti-hes-penu—11 pairs"—a very frequently recurring expense, evidently, for we found quantities of old papyrus sandals worn out by the workmen on the sharp stone chips. A second was a note of the loan of donkeys to officers detailed to the building operations in Hat-shepsūt's day. A third, docketed on the back with the names of the gang-bosses, Amen-hotpe and Rer-werū, gives a list of serfs engaged on the Queen's temple on the 20th of the 2d Month of Akhet. Rer-werū brought 76 men; Amen-hotpe brought 36, and with him Sen-nefer with 38, making in all 74 under Amen-hotpe; and to this total of 150 men Min-mose added 28, making an aggregate of 178 men on the job that day.

The more interesting ostraca, however, date from the building of the shrine called Djeser-akhet which Thūt-mose III erected to Hat-Ḥor and Amūn in the old Neb-hepet-Rē temple. One is a "heading of a list of work bringing out stone under the Mayor and Vizir Rekh-mi-Rē at the temple of Amūn in Djeser-akhet," and another a "list of stone which is at the command of the Mayor and Vizir," itemizing several hundred blocks for the base of the building. It takes study to make much sense of a third which begins "Year 45, 4th Month of Prōyet, day 15: List of the work consisting of the stone work which is under the direction of the Mayor and Vizir Rekh-mi-Rē, in the temple of Amūn in Djeser-akhet. There was dragged out stone of [. . . IIII], and stone of *ti-mes* IIII, making IX completed upon the . . . of the southern wall. 4th Month of Prōyet, day 16: The work for the top of . . ." etc., etc.—a difficult snarl of unknown words and rubbed spots that needs painstaking research to unravel.

Then, too, there is a certain importance in the information to be gained on the career of the great Rekh-mi-Rē. He mentions the shrine of Djeser-akhet in his tomb, and here in 1456 B.C. we find him in charge of the building, fully bearing out Davies' ingenious reasoning in his work on Puy-em-Rē.³

Lists of workmen and of blocks of stone did not take all the thought of the clerks of the works any more than the temple sculptures took up the entire time of the artists. Both had their moments off. One

³ *The Tomb of Puyemrê*, Vol. II, p. 78ff.

scribe sent to another a flint valentine on which he had written "For thy soul, receive food and drink before Amūn every day in Djeser-akhet, O Lieutenant Amen-hotpe, son of Amen-hotpe. Mayest thou drink water at the foaming of the stream," and then a crude little sketch of Amen-hotpe holding a cup to his lips.

Mixed in with all of this rubbish left by the temple builders there were thousands of ex-votos from this very shrine of Djeser-akhet, from the Hat-Ḥor shrine built just before it by Hat-shepsūt, and—if we are not mistaken—from a still earlier Eighteenth Dynasty Hat-Ḥor chapel which Hat-shepsūt's must have superseded and from which the earliest scarabs came. The inscribed scarabs already mentioned were among them. Of the little shapeless, uninscribed scarabs of brilliant blue faience which were strung up like beads and offered by myriads in the chapels, we got between three and four thousand. The ground was literally sown with such offerings which had been left for a while in the chapels, and then thrown out into the rubbish hole on the periodical cleaning days. Bits of broken blue faience platters in which food had been presented to the goddess were uncountable. Symbols of Hat-Ḥor were everywhere. Sometimes she was the cow carved on plaques of limestone, copper, or faience; or again she was represented by the primitive symbol of a post with a woman's head atop, which gave the inspiration for the Hat-Ḥor headed columns of her temples (pl 45). She was a protectress, and tablets engraved with a pair of eyes or ears would assure her seeing and hearing a suppliant; and she was a goddess of joy to whom those who were in love had merely to make a gift to attain their hearts' desires. Amen-hotpe I appears to have built her first shrine here.

A few centuries after the shrines of Hat-Ḥor were deserted Egypt went through terrible vicissitudes. Assyrians, and even Libyan and Ethiopian barbarians, who had once been looked upon as the lowest of savages, overran the country, long since habituated to rebellion and civil war. Finally, in 663 B.C. under the dynasty of Saïs, Egypt pulled itself together once more, and for over a hundred years basked in the twilight of her independence. Men's memories then naturally turned back to the great days of the past, and numerous tombs in Thebes attest to the renaissance of archaic art in the Saïte period.⁴

In 1922-23 we found the tomb of a certain Nesy-pe-ka-shuti, Mayor of Thebes and Vizir, who not only adapted the decorations of his tomb from earlier models but, seeing the imposing ruins of the fifteen-

⁴ The tomb of Pebes described by Lansing (*Bulletin*, 1920, July, II, p. 17) is of about the same period.

hundred-year-old Eleventh Dynasty tombs on the hillside, ordered his engineers to make the like for him.

He chose the broadest Eleventh Dynasty court and ramp in the row and appropriated the eastern half of it. The brick façade of the older tomb was cut away, and a sort of pylon and porch were built in its stead, with an ornate sandstone doorway leading to a long and lofty vaulted chapel tunneled in the rock. Behind this there was a dark room flanked by little closets for funeral furniture, and a precipitous stairway down into the subterranean burial crypts below. The pylon was an elaboration of the austere simplicity of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs, but something of their effect at a distant view was obtained by grading a ramp up the hillside on their model. The limestone chips thrown out from quarrying the inner chambers were heaped in a long pile down the center of the original ramp, whose eastern side was now re-walled, and a narrow alley was thus created up to Nesy-pe-ka-shuti's tomb.

The decoration of the chapel walls was done in the characteristic taste of the day, from copies of tombs as old as the pyramids (pl. 91). Just such files of men and women laden with baskets of food, or butchers slaughtering beeves, carved almost two thousand years before Nesy-pe-ka-shuti's day, can be seen in the chapels of the mastabas in the Metropolitan Museum. But here and there scenes far later than the pyramid age obtrude into their archaistic surroundings. A fragment of women wailing at a funeral with hands fluttering above their heads in an abandon of grief—paid for according to oriental custom, at so much per day—was a scene that no Old Kingdom artist would have known how to draw, but upon which Nesy-pe-ka-shuti's artists lavished all their ingenuity.

In fact, we found very amusing evidences that the artists took far more interest in trying to draw such subjects than in making the slavish copies they were hired to produce. In their off times they amused themselves sketching snatches of life on flakes of the paper-white limestone which littered the ground (pl. 92). One did in a few pen strokes an old blind singer crouched over his harp with his fingers plucking the strings, or experimented with a calf, and another tried a leaping lion, or showed how a horse could be drawn rubbing his muzzle against his outstretched foreleg. This last is surely a pure experiment, for probably no scene in the tomb contained any such figure. In fact, that it was merely a demonstration of skill in draughting is practically proved by a faint charcoal copy on the back by some heavy-fisted imitator who has produced a dubious quadruped that

still raises some echo of the laugh which must have greeted it twenty-five hundred years ago. In more professional mood we have the master of the harper or of the horse working with straight edge and ruling pen, laying out the lines of the funeral barque in absolute symmetry, and elsewhere we can see how the sculptor followed these lines through every stage to the cameo finish of the completed reliefs.

The tomb of Nesy-pe-ka-shuti had long been used as a quarry, and little of its decorations remained in place. For the Egyptian Government to rebuild the tomb on the spot would have been a serious undertaking, with the cliff in a state where it might collapse at any time. Furthermore, even rebuilt, it was doubtful whether an adequate proportion of the scenes could be patched together out of the myriad fragments to justify such an expenditure. These fragments therefore fell to our share, and though even after long effort we may never succeed in reconstituting anything like the complete mastaba chambers we already possess, we know that we can adequately show in the Museum the archaistic sculpture of the Saïte period and, even more interesting, its technique from the first lay-out by the draughtsman, through each stage of its carving to the finished work.

SEASON OF 1923-1924

Among the most interesting of the points which resulted from our work on the Eleventh Dynasty temple of Neb-hepet-Rē, the grove of trees in front of it was perhaps the most striking.¹ The reader may recall that in our report of two years before the story was told of how we first found it.² At that time we had discovered on either side of the temple ramp a row of large circular plots of earth which had been planted with sycamore-fig trees, and opposite the southern porch of the temple three rows of tamarisks—seven tree stumps to each row. At the same time we had identified as an original project for this grove a plan drawn on a slab of sandstone, which showed opposite the south porch three rows of tamarisks changed, as we believed, from an original four. The plan was broken where the northern porch should have been, nor had our excavations gone as far as that, but we had the temerity to give a sketch restoring four rows of trees to that side. In 1923-24 our work led us back to the temple grove—if truth must be told, with misgivings for the fate of that restoration—and for once things had worked out according to schedule. On the very first day we struck the first tamarisk stumps opposite the northern temple porch, and they appeared one after another, lined up in four straight rows (pl. 2).

The ancient landscape architect's plan may thus be taken as fully authenticated by this new discovery, and incidentally at the same time we confirmed our description of the method by which the engineers had graded the court. In our report for 1922-23 we gave photographs of the bench-marks set out for leveling at the front and back limits of the temenos.³ This year we found an intermediate benchmark among the trees, placed exactly as it should have been for running one of the lines of levels across the court.

Fortune was not so kindly to us with our next problem. The Bab el Hosān—the gigantic subterranean tomb discovered by Carter twenty-five years before—had always been very much of an enigma. It had frequently been mentioned in these reports as opening from the north side of the courtyard of the Neb-hepet-Rē temple. In it the empty coffin and the statue of a King Mentu-hotpe were found, but which King Mentu-hotpe that was, why only his statue and not his body was buried in it, and exactly what was the relation of this tomb to the temple were all puzzles.

¹ *Bulletin*, XIX (1924), December, II, p. 5.

² See above, page 49.

³ See above, page 72.

The tomb had been refilled, and in hope of finding a foundation deposit which would solve our problems, we felt justified in reclearing its mouth (pl. 2). It is by any reckoning a really enormous hole, and over two hundred men and boys slaved there in the dust for three weeks emptying it out, only to find that there never had been a foundation deposit, nor any inscription whatever. However, the reclearing made an accurate survey of it possible. When Carter discovered the tomb, the Neb-hepet-Rē temple was unknown. When Naville discovered the temple, the tomb had been refilled, and thus it had never been possible to do more than guess at their relation to each other. We, however, were able to make an accurate survey which demonstrated that the tomb descends from its enormous, gaping mouth, crosses under the great width of the courtyard, and ends in a chamber almost directly under the center of the pyramid in the temple.

In our search around the temple for members of Neb-hepet-Rē's family we had in mind three tombs which had been found years before in the Deir el Baḥri neighborhood. Unfortunately, excavations of that locality have not always been as conscientiously conducted and as fully recorded as one might wish, and only the vaguest references in obscure archaeological publications remained to tell of any of the three. Back in the days of Mariette the tomb of a Queen Neferu was discovered under the Ḥat-shepsūt temple,⁴ but it had never been cleared, and to visit its decorated crypt one had to take a long and laborious trip through its dark underground passages, crawling like one of the snakes one feared to meet, over noisome heaps of rubbish. Some time after Mariette's day a tomb containing the sarcophagus of a "Queen Tmum" had been found and then completely lost sight of; and finally, in 1891, Grébaut had unearthed the unplundered tomb of a Queen Amūnet, and it too had disappeared without leaving any indication as to its whereabouts. This last was a pit, and as our experience had been that pit-tombs usually came in groups around this temple, we decided that if we could rediscover Amūnet's pit we had a reasonable chance of finding others.

The clues we had to work on were the memories of M. Daressy and of Sheikh Ḥāssan 'Abd er Rasūl—memories not only thirty years old but involving landmarks which had long since disappeared in the changes wrought in the Deir el Baḥri landscape, first by the Egypt Exploration Fund and then by ourselves. Our information placed Amūnet's tomb vaguely somewhere south of the Ḥat-shepsūt temple and

⁴ Since our excavations listed as No. 319 by the Service des Antiquités.

west of the Naville house which stood over the Bab el Hosān, and therefore in 1923-24 we laid out an elaborate grid of trenches all across the northwest corner of the great court to search for the Amūnet tomb there, and when they yielded nothing, we extended them east of the Naville house to the front wall of the court. The result of all of our efforts was negative. We believe that had any pits existed in the great court we should have found them, because the closest study was made of the sections shown by each trench, and anything that suggested a change of stratification was followed out methodically. Hence, we felt satisfied that the missing tombs of Amūnet and of Tmum must be among the nameless graves in the temple itself.

Failing the discovery of new pits, our trenches were devised to determine the original extent of the Neb-ḥepet-Rē court. A careful watch was kept in each for any sign of the northern edge of the grading done by the Eleventh Dynasty engineers. We easily picked up the northern stone boundary wall with a postern gate framed with the names of the king, like the southern one cleared in 1921-22. We worked north of this into the Ḥat-shepsūt court adjoining, but still the trenches showed no change in the character of the graded fill. We arrived at the north side of the Ḥat-shepsūt court where ancient rains had washed down from the cliffs a great mass of sand and gravel, on top of which Naville had added tons of rubbish from his excavations. We dug this mound away and laid bare the north wall of Ḥat-shepsūt's court. And then behind it we found the northern limit of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's gigantic temenos. Ḥat-shepsūt's great temple, after all, is almost entirely built within the earlier courtyard.

Neb-ḥepet-Rē's monument, as originally conceived, is now seen to have been fronted by an artificial plain about 250 yards wide and practically as long. But beyond its size its most striking feature is its shape. Its greatest width was on the eastern front. The north and south sides converged and, as we know, the southern side was curved as it approached the temple so that from the cliffs above one would have looked down upon a space approximating in shape a round-topped Egyptian shield with the temple at the apex. The southern side, with its field-stone revetment against the hill, had been cleared during the previous two years, and now the northern side was laid bare except where it was covered by the temple of Ḥat-shepsūt. We had found on the north side the same field-stone revetment as on the south, and parallel to it we had found brick walls identical with those across the court. These were partly removed when Ḥat-shepsūt built her courtyard wall diagonally across them, but ample traces remained by which

they could be identified. The curious thing about this new discovery was that, as actually finished, the final Neb-ḥepet-Rē court, fenced in by fine white limestone walls, was but a fraction as large as the original grading intended for it.

The tomb of Queen Neferu was then seen to have been tunneled through the field-stone revetment on the northern side of this original courtyard. Its entrance and the front of its lofty corridor were hidden when the northeast porch of Ḥat-shepsūt's temple was built, and it is behind the ruins of the latter that one now climbs down into the tomb chapel and along the once secret passage to the crypt. The chapel we found filled almost to the ceiling with the dismembered torsos and the scattered arms and legs of hundreds of Roman mummies, half-burned among heaps of their torn shrouds. Once this ghastly hecatomb had been removed, we discovered on the floor jumbled blocks and chips of the Eleventh Dynasty bas-reliefs which had decorated the chapel walls.

In the chapel and the passage to the crypt we found over a dozen of Queen Neferu's shawabti figures of clay or wax, each wrapped in bandages and placed in a little coffin with a pall still strapped on to it (pl. 14). Upon them and upon their coffins, as well as on fragments of the bas-reliefs from the tomb chapel, Neferu's mother is probably named I'ah written, however, *i'hw* with plural strokes. Now in a desert valley called the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl, near Gebel Silsileh,⁵ there is carved a well-known scene in which a gigantic figure of Neb-ḥepet-Rē is surrounded by three personages, much smaller than the king, but all of equal height among themselves and thus presumably of equal importance. Behind Neb-ḥepet-Rē stands his mother, I'ah, and if I'ah is the correct reading of the name of Neferu's mother, then Neferu was probably a sister of Neb-ḥepet-Rē.

In front of the gigantic king—to dwell for a moment longer on the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl scene—stands a smaller figure labeled "The Divine Father, Beloved of the God, the Son of Rē In-tef, living eternally," and behind this figure, the Chancellor Khety. The chief enigma of the scene has always been the In-tef, represented with a uraeus on his brow and his name within a cartouche like a king. In 1924, on the north wall of the court of the Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple, we found this same name within a cartouche scratched several times—"Son of Rē In-tef, given life." Clearly this In-tef can be none of the In-tef kings who were dead and gone before Neb-ḥepet-Rē, and yet no other In-

⁵ See below, page 117ff, and *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, LVII (1940), p. 144.

tefs are known in the Eleventh Dynasty. Hence, we adopted the hypothesis that this In-tef was a son of Neb-hepet-Rē, raised to the rank of his father's co-regent with many kingly attributes, anticipating the custom so common a few years later in the Twelfth Dynasty. He could not, however, have survived his father, who was succeeded by S'ankha-ka-Rē Mentu-hotpe. Therefore, In-tef was probably buried at Deir el Baḥri, in the big tomb opened by Naville beside the wall on which his name was scribbled by some ancient idler.

It only remains to recall that the Chancellor Khety, who accompanied this same Prince In-tef at the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl, was the same Khety whose tomb was discovered by us in 1922-23, to realize how closely we were getting to know the Eleventh Dynasty Thebans.

For some reason, obscure to us today, the Deir el Baḥri region had become sacred to the cow-goddess Ḥat-Ḥor at the outset of the Eighteenth Dynasty, before 1500 B.C. In 1922-23 we had found votives offered to her in the days of Amen-hotpe I and his mother, Neferet-iry, and bricks stamped with their names had been known as coming from this locality for years. In fact, Carter had believed that he had found a wall of a building erected by them, and although that particular wall merely contained re-used bricks stamped with their names, our excavations soon brought to light the actual foundations of a little temple built by Amen-hotpe and Neferet-iry underneath the courtyard.

Further traces of it were uncovered in a rather disconcerting way. When we began work in the court, the ancient, jerry-built ramp leading to the Ḥat-shepsūt temple was upheld merely by a row of massive blocks rolled against it during Naville's excavations. All unsuspecting we moved them, when with a thunderclap the wall toppled down on our men. For a hectic hour we turned to digging for victims that fortunately existed in our own imaginations only, and during our excitement naturally missed all of the fine archaeological points developed. But once the shock was over, when we came to take stock of the conditions, we found that Ḥat-shepsūt's wall had fallen away like a curtain, and behind it stood brick walls of Amen-hotpe to a considerable height.

So far as could be seen the chapel of Amen-hotpe I had been a small, adobe-brick structure which Ḥat-shepsūt's architect, Sen-Mūt, had cleared away without compunction. Except on purely historical grounds we can scarcely complain at this when we consider the magnificent structure which rose in the place of the unimposing little shrine. Rather, since Ḥat-shepsūt's monument is one of the great

works of Egyptian art, we had only cause for self-congratulation when we found ourselves able to add the following new items to present-day knowledge of it.

In the first place we discovered that, as originally contemplated, its plan was to have been somewhat different from that actually followed. Naville, years ago, had found a foundation deposit of Ḥat-shepsūt's against the southern wall of the temple at its western end. We had found another in 1922 at the eastern end of the same wall.⁶ On the prolongation of their line, still farther eastward out in the forecourt, we now found a third deposit in 1923-1924. A few days later we unearthed a fourth north of the third; then a fifth north of that and close to the temple ramp; and then finally—six weeks or more later still—a sixth turned up under the great mound close to the northern wall of the court.

Each deposit was placed under a layer of sand in a circular hole lined with brick, if it was not cut in the bed-rock. In every one were models of the tools with which the temple was to be built—adzes, axes, chisels, and mallets for the carpenters; and sand-sieves, brick-moulds, and the curious rockers on which stones were raised, for the masons. With them were placed dishes of meat, bread, and fruits to represent the perpetual provision which was to be made for the gods and for Ḥat-shepsūt herself in her new shrine, and in order that they might be able to consume these provisions eternally there were placed with the food magic instruments for the "opening of the mouths" of their statues and alabaster jars of the sacred oils with which to anoint them (pl. 42).

It was on these jars that we found engraved the clue to the meaning of the deposits: "The Daughter of the Sun-God, Ma'et-ka-Rē (Ḥat-shepsūt). She made this as her monument to her father Amūn at the time of stretching the cord over the temple of Amūn of Djeser-djeseru (Deir el Baḥri). May she be living!" Now "the time of the stretching of the cord" was the time of the laying out of the temple, before the construction had been started. At this foundation ceremony a deposit was placed at each corner or other important point in the intended plan. Our four new deposits defined the eastern façade of the building, and from their alignment it can be seen that it was intended "at the stretching of the cord" that this front should be parallel with the oblique front wall of the Neb-hepet-Rē court, on a line very different from that finally adopted. And furthermore, the two central deposits

⁶ See above, page 52. See End Papers A-B and C, D, E, F.

are close together and in advance of the line of the others, marking clearly a place for a ramp south of the ramp actually built.

Shortly after finding the foundation deposits we unearthed a new and striking feature of the temple plan as it was finally completed. We had been on the lookout for a grove of trees such as that in front of the Neb-ḥepet-Rē^c temple. We can say positively now that no such grove existed. Except for one in the northeast corner of the forecourt and one on either side of the temple ramp, there were no trees in Ḥat-shepsūt's day in front of the temple. The stumps of some palms are still to be seen there, but they clearly belong to the much later grave pits. However, to supply the green so dear to the Egyptian's heart, there were two shallow papyrus pools surrounded by little circular flower-beds on either hand as one approached the ramp to the upper terraces (pl. 44). That they should still be at all recognizable is astounding. They are merely shallow, T-shaped hollows, unlined but still filled with mud, crackled just as it was on the day when they were first neglected and allowed to dry up. In this mud one could pick up bits of the papyrus stalks. Since some of these stalks were cut in lengths for paper-making, and since among them lay a fowler's throw-stick, it would appear that as part of the dedication ceremonies at the temple, papyrus was cut and birds were caught in these miniature marshes, just as Ḥat-shepsūt is seen doing on the walls of the temple in the celebration of the ritual of certain of the gods.

Incidentally, the bas-relief in the northeast colonnade of the temple which shows Ḥat-shepsūt hunting in the marshes is one of the most attractive in the temple, but when it was copied by Carter for Naville's publication it was far from complete. We were fortunate enough to find a number of new stones from the wall which go a long way towards completing it, and which have since been replaced by Baraize.

Another and more striking addition to our conception of the temple architecture came out of our study of this very portico. All around it lay fragments of the still unrestored pillars, and among them we noticed a few stones on which one could trace the hawk of Horus in bold relief. Now the south wall of the temple is paneled, and every other panel is topped with just such a hawk. Therefore, our first idea was that these stones had strayed from the southern side of the structure. It was a considerable surprise to find, when we turned one of these stones over, that it was actually the capital of one of the colonnade pillars, but once we had grasped that fact, the whole conception of the designer was apparent. The panels of the south wall are only

the repetition of the colonnades on the front wall. Each alternate panel or pillar bears the hawk and the Horus-name of Ḥat-shepsūt above the grid traditionally symbolizing the royal gateway. On every second panel or pillar was the symbolic uraeus and vulture of the tutelary divinities, extending life, stability, and strength to the sovereign hawk. To demonstrate the point and to serve as a guide in the restoration of the northeast colonnade by the Service des Antiquités, we photographed a number of fragments of these pillars and assembled them in a typical example. In front the pillars are flat. Behind, inside the portico, they are eight-sided, to match the "proto-Doric" columns of the porch. Above came the architrave, cavetto cornice, and balustrade, and, projecting from this last, lion gargoyles placed at intervals.

Thus, as one approached the temple he plainly saw across the lower colonnades a row of gigantic hawks faced by vultures and uraei in bold relief. The second colonnade above presented only square-faced pillars, but the third and top one showed from afar a row of colossal Osiride figures of the Queen, for there stood the great mummiform statues of which we found fragments the previous year. These colossi had been removed from the temple at the command of Thut-mose III, and broken up and buried in the hollows left on either side of her causeway by Ḥat-shepsūt's engineers.⁷

This year we noticed on the few remaining pillars of the top colonnade of the temple clear indications of where such statues had stood, in line with the single one which Somers Clarke shows in his plans. Furthermore, we had by now traced definitely to the niches in the upper court of the temple another type of limestone statue, about twice life size, of which we found fragments between 1922 and 1924.

By the spring of 1924 the forecourt of Ḥat-shepsūt's temple was either cleared or trenched to bed-rock throughout its entire extent. Where the level had been filled by the ancient engineers in one place we found an interesting little limestone ostrakon. It is a list accompanying some offerings sent to the temple in Ḥat-shepsūt's day: "Third month of Prōyet, 23rd day. List of the offering brought by Amen-ḥotpe, wife of the High Priest of Amūn, Ḥepu-sonbe, which is destined for the temple of Amūn in Djeseru. Offering: sacks, 2; beer, 1; white bread, 2; *shafyt*-cakes and *sekhen* . . .; a large bird; a small bird; incense for fumigation, 5 pots."

The hole dug in the Deir el Baḥri causeway by us the previous year

⁷ See above, page 77.

had now been refilled with the dump from this season's work. On the hillside north of the temple and on a level with its middle terrace, there is a row of priests' houses surrounded by a serpentine brick fence, discovered by Carnarvon and Carter. These houses have been cleared entirely. In the forecourt of the temple we cleared away the ancient mounds which were from two to four meters high. These were discovered to consist very largely of bricks from the Amen-hotpe I chapel. The north wall of the forecourt with two postern gates was then completely exposed. At its western end, where it is close to the rock, it existed to the capstones in places, but was badly breached in others, and the fallen stones were replaced after the foundations were strengthened.

Meanwhile we had been speculating on our chances of making a haul of antiquities. New contributions to an understanding of the Deir el BaĦri temples we had made certainly, but we still had a perfectly normal and as yet unsatiated appetite for additions to the Museum collections. There were the usual sure tips. Advice is no more expensive in Kurneh than it is anywhere else. It is easy enough for a fellāh to tell you that there is a treasure hidden in such and such a spot. If there is nothing there, then the tipster loses exactly nothing. And if something is found—well, naturally he will not let his claims die for want of pressing.

Naturally we accepted no tips, for we could easily guess that the inspiration of all of them was rooted in a fact that we had in our own minds. In 1891, somewhere near where we were then digging, Grébaut and Daressy had come upon a subterranean corridor literally packed with the coffins and funeral furniture of a hundred and fifty-three Twenty-first Dynasty priests and priestesses of Amūn. The finds make up a large part of the collections in Cairo, and so numerous were they that the Egyptian Government of those days had been able to present several sets of coffins to each of seventeen different national museums all the way from Tokio to Washington.

Nowadays the archaeologist labors under certain obligations which did not weigh so heavily fifty years ago. Then a week had been sufficient time to hoist the hundreds of mummy cases to the surface and to cart them away, and such a thing as a photograph taken underground was something of which no one dreamed. However, twenty years ago the clues from its surroundings were of a value equal to that of the article itself, and the painstaking labor which such a discovery as that of 1891 would have entailed was appalling.

After the death of the last Ramesses—twelfth of the name—in 1090

B.C. the High Priest of Amūn had openly claimed temporal power and had created of Thebes and of Upper Egypt a papal state in which he ruled to all intents and purposes supreme. Shadowy Pharaohs in the north were vaguely acknowledged, but the hereditary pontiffs in Thebes maintained a practical equality with them. With shrewd political foresight the High Priest Pay-nūdjem I even won the hand of one of the northern princesses and through her actually inherited the throne of all Egypt for his own lifetime. During the two-score years he reigned in Memphis, he raised to the dignity of High Priest in Thebes three of his sons in succession, of whom Men-kheper-Rē, the youngest, succeeded to the pontificate as a mere boy in 1042 B.C. to rule for almost half a century. It was in his days that the ancient subterranean corridor was found and was first used as a common burial crypt for the priests and priestesses of Amūn. His son, the pontiff Pay-nūdjem II, cleared a similar catacomb in the cliffs just south of Deir el BaĦri for his own burial-place, and some time after his death the mummies of the great Pharaohs were brought to it and there lay hidden until they were discovered by Maspero in 1880.

In the center of the courtyard of Ḥat-shepsūt's temple we found the first of our tombs of the High Priests' period, only to unearth in the bottom of it newspapers blown into it in 1892 which attested to its discovery by Grébaut and Daressy the year before. Fortunately for our spirits, however, we had already begun to clear away the big mound on the north side of the courtyard, and that we were certain had never been touched in modern times. Furthermore, under layers of water-laid sand and gravel we were finding piles of stone chip quarried out of tombs which evidently must have been later than the Eighteenth Dynasty temple and might well have been of the period of the High Priests. As the mound disappeared, day by day we were laying bare the north wall of Ḥat-shepsūt's court, and behind it the face of the rock cutting of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's court with its field-stone revetment wall. The two walls converged so that the triangular space between them became at its western end a sort of blind alley, excellently adapted for hidden tombs.

In fact, this had been realized as early as Ḥat-shepsūt's own days by a certain Min-mose, who was possibly one of the engineers charged with the transportation of the queen's obelisks from Aswān to the temple of Karnak. He had cut a deep pit into the rock beside the Neb-ḥepet-Rē revetment, with a burial crypt at the bottom. There his body had lain until the indefatigable tomb robbers had found its hiding-place and had utterly destroyed it, leaving the pit gaping open

after their departure. So it had stood when in the Twenty-first Dynasty the family of a lady named Hent-towy had brought her body to the necropolis to bury her (pl. 81). They laid her in Min-mose's empty crypt, blocked up the door with stones and even with bits of his broken coffins, and filled up the pit with rubbish and with boulders torn from the nearby Neb-hepet-Rē wall. And there she, more fortunate than Min-mose before her, lay undisturbed for three thousand years.

Hent-towy was evidently a woman of the better class in Thebes in the days of the High Priests, and as such was a member of the choir in the temple of Amūn. On her coffins she is portrayed as a charming, well-bred, Oriental lady, with arms crossed upon her breast, looking calmly out from the shrouds that swathe her body (pl. 82). She is no longer of this world, and from top to bottom both of her coffins are covered with scenes from her life among the gods. Again and yet again she adores Osiris and the Children of Horus; she rattles her sistrum to the sacred animal; she drinks the cool water poured out for her by the Goddess of the Sycamore at the foot of the sacred mountain; and she is present when the Hāt-Hor cow issues from its cliffs. She beholds that divine mystery of the world's creation when Shū raised the nude Sky-goddess from the embraces of the Earth-god and holds her on high above him, and she sees her own heart weighed against the symbol of Truth in her own last judgment.

As seems to have been the custom in the Twenty-first Dynasty, the lid of the outer coffin was not pegged down. The lid of the inner one was, however, and when we had carefully pried it loose we found her mummy beneath a wooden covering fashioned to show Hent-towy entirely swathed except for her head and her arms, crossed over a fantastically elaborate collar which covers her chest and shoulders. Below the collar is painted a bead net over a purple shroud, down the front of which is wrought in hieroglyphs her invocation of the goddess Mūt. Evidently the mummy had never been placed in the coffins until it was lowered into the crypt. Then it had been seen that the inner coffin could not be closed down upon the mummy and its covering without breaking away the foot of the latter, and this was hastily done. The piece of the foot which we found had escaped damage, but the rest must have been tossed outside of the crypt, where it must have been pulverized by the boulders thrown down the pit when the funeral ceremony was over.

The coffins of Hent-towy are remarkably preserved, due of course to the fact that in three thousand years not so much as a breath of

moisture had ever penetrated her resting-place. Our luck was not so good, however, in the next tomb which we opened—and that scarcely more than six feet away.

Unfortunately this second tomb was not a deep, vertical well packed with earth and boulders. It had been specially made for the burial of some of the ladies of the pontifical family under the High Priest Menkheper-Rē. A wooden door closed it, and during years of use this door had broken from its hinges, and finally the opening was stopped up with stones from the nearby temple and buried in sand. This protection, however, was very slight, for the entrance was just under the surface and thieves easily dug down to it. They only made a little burrow barely wide enough to crawl through, but this was still standing open when one of the rare torrential rains burst on the hills above. The roaring floods then poured down over the cliffs and, while they passed harmlessly over the tomb of Hent-towy, they swirled down the open robbers' hole into the depths of this other tomb beside it.

Digging here became one of the most ticklish jobs which ever fell to our lot. Within the doorway there was a sharply sloping passage in the rock, choked with water-washed sand and gravel of cement-like hardness. Our men chopped through it with pickaxes, sweating half-naked in the foul, dusty air as they tunneled deeper and deeper into the dark. But the tight-packed sand was all that held up the soft rock, rotted by the ancient flood, and the roof kept caving away above them. Nothing in the world would have persuaded them to stay down there if they had not been keyed up with the prospect of a find which tempted all of us to take the risk, and even to grudge the days when we had to knock off digging to air out the tunnel and pry down the most dangerous parts of the roof.

The passage descended straight before us and then opened out into what looked like a chamber on the left. There was no floor there, however, and down into the hard-packed sand we dug, until we realized that we were in an enormous vertical well with a crude stairway cut in the rock at the side. As we dug, the sand changed to rubbish and then we began to come upon broken, water-logged coffins, probably a dozen or more in number, just outside a doorway blocked with boulders.

The work now became even more trying. Through the chinks between the boulders in the doorway we could see yellow varnished coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty, but how many we could not guess (pl. 83). Speed was necessary, but just as Hauser and I began to remove the first stones from the doorway a telegram was brought

down the pit calling me on the first of several urgent trips to Cairo, trying to patch up the quarrel between Lacau and Carter who had gone to lecture in America.

The darkness in the depths was absolute. I got a portable dynamo while in Cairo, but it balked every time we started to work, and we were forced to fall back on our old system of a chain of mirrors from the sunlight outside, rather than waste any more time with engine trouble. Drawings, notes, and photographs had to be made while unexpected, jagged lumps of stone fell from the roof above the pit, thirty feet over our heads. Finally the rock was so shattered that we dared not rig a derrick above the pit, and as each coffin was recorded down below we had to wrap it in blankets and have it passed up, hand over hand, by a line of men standing on the crumbling stairs. The only easy part of our whole job was that once up in the open air, a Ford truck presented by Mr. Blumenthal was waiting to whisk each mummy-case away to the storerooms at our house.

By the Spring of 1924 we had not had a chance to clear up all of the details in the history of the tomb, but a fairly plausible story could be told from the facts so far retrieved.

It seems fairly certain that this was designed as the burial-place of three ladies of the family of the High Priests. One of them was a certain Princess Ḥent-towy, daughter of the King Pay-nūdjem and sister of the High Priest Men-kheper-Rē^c. The second was still another Princess Ḥent-towy (the name was the most popular of the day), daughter of Iset-em-kheb, who was a princess and lady superior of the principal orders of the priestesses of Thebes. Two Iset-em-khebs are known who bore exactly these titles—one a wife and the other a daughter of the High Priest Men-kheper-Rē^c. It happens that in the rubbish in the tomb we found broken seals of Men-kheper-Rē^c's which may have come from the outer coffin of Ḥent-towy, daughter of Iset-em-kheb, and thus we can be reasonably sure that this Ḥent-towy was of Men-kheper-Rē^c's family. Furthermore, it is known from inscriptions in Karnak that Men-kheper-Rē^c had a daughter called Ḥent-towy and that she should have died in her father's long pontificate is not unreasonable. The third mummy was that of a Princess Djed-Mūt-es-ṯankh, who also held all of the highest offices in the temples of Thebes appropriate to a great lady of the family of the pontiffs, and she likewise may be considered as a wife or daughter of the same High Priest.

The coffins of the three princesses lay side by side on the floor of the crypt. All of them were worthy of the high rank of the ladies for whom

they were made. Their faces and their hands had been gilded, and from head to foot each had been covered with charmingly executed miniatures. The outer coffin of Iset-em-kheb's daughter even had the vignettes worked in delicate low relief. Six of those wooden figures of Osiris fashioned to contain funerary papyri were found (pl. 82)—three between the coffins in the crypt and three others thrown out into the pit—and beside the coffins there were five chests of blue faience shawabtis bearing the princesses' names (pl. 84).

Such was, as we found it, the funerary furniture of the first three occupants of the tomb. Sometime after the interment of the last of them, the tomb had been reopened for the burial of a Prophet of Amūn named Men-kheper-Rē^c, whose coffin was crammed in to the left of that of Ḥent-towy, daughter of Iset-em-kheb. This Men-kheper-Rē^c was a person of no great social standing, for his secondhand coffins had originally been made for a priest named Aṯ-mose before they had been appropriated for him (pls. 84-5). Presumably he had been born when his namesake, the great Men-kheper-Rē^c, was High Priest, and therefore his death could not have taken place very long after the last of the three princesses died, but what claim he may have had to burial in this tomb we can not surmise. At least, the undertakers who laid him in it showed little enough respect for the dead who already rested there. They chopped the gold off the faces of their coffins, and they burst their coffins open and rifled the bodies within. And then, as though conscience-stricken, they put back the lids—mixing them up in doing so—and covered up the mutilated coffin faces with rags of which the shreds still remained in our day.

After the funeral of Men-kheper-Rē^c the tomb was opened and reopened again and again. Evidently three or four coffins would be piled in on top of those already there, and then as a newcomer arrived, room was made for him by the simple expedient of tossing one or more of his predecessors out into the pit. Some of these newcomers must have had the briefest of tenures of their resting-places, but the last two—a priestess named ṯankh-es-Mūt and a woman called Ta-beket-Mūt—remained in the crowded crypt until we arrived some three thousand years later.

The tomb had been reopened in the Twenty-third Dynasty and a new chamber and pit had been quarried in it for a priest named Nesy-Khōnsu, son of the Prophet of Montu Djed-Montu-ef-ṯankh. His crypt had been flooded out and we retrieved nothing from his funeral outfit except a charmingly painted, but sadly decayed, limestone stela. However, a little farther east of this tomb, against the wall of

Ḥat-shepsūt's courtyard we discovered two pits of about the same period. They had been plundered but were not without their reward for us. One had been made for a lady Ṛankh-shep-en-wepet, the namesake of one of the queens of the Eighth Century B.C. (pl. 90). The mummy had been carted away bodily, but the coffins remained and at their feet still lay the body of a pet gazelle, and beside them, four canopic jars and two boxes of shawabtis. We counted them and found that they totaled 364—one for each day in the year with one missing. The question arises: was this a mistake, or was there *one* annual holiday in the future life? The second of these two tombs yielded a rather fine papyrus Book of the Dead, crumpled up and blown by some ancient wind down the pit after the robbery of another grave, and the mummy of a certain Ḥeru which had been missed by the thieves underneath a pile of broken coffins.

It is probable that when these last tombs were dug in the Twenty-third or Twenty-fourth Dynasties, the temple of Deir el BaĦri had long since fallen into decay and was looked upon as merely a burial-place for the Theban priests of Amūn and of Montu, three of whom we found near the temple ramp. All were plundered, and aside from a few bits of coffins and bandages bearing the names of members of the family of a certain Khaṛ-em-Ḥōr, Prophet of Amūn and Mayor of Thebes, nothing of importance came from them.

It was near them, however, that we discovered two lots of ancient embalmers' materials. We have mentioned the chambers containing the embalming materials of Meket-Rēṛ and Ipi of the Eleventh Dynasty.⁸ These two new lots of such materials were thirteen centuries later, and while naturally there are variations in detail between the two periods, they are not so significant as the essential similarities. If bags of natron found in the earlier, and others found in the later lots should be mixed, it is doubtful whether any living person could sort them out again. The point is really astounding when it is considered that this implies the existence of a custom practically unchanged for a longer period than has elapsed between the time of Christ and our own days. The Egyptians were truly die-hards in their conservatism.

In the great tombs of the Eleventh Dynasty, a little chamber was provided just outside for the excess embalming materials left over after the funeral. In the late dynastic period, when the tombs were small pits, a shallow hole in the vicinity served the same purpose. In both periods the extra natron in little bags and the soiled linen in wads were

⁸ See above, page 65.

packed up in sealed jars. From the earlier period we found the wooden platform on which the actual embalming had been performed, and now from this later period we found the broken wicker bed and the mat which had served the same purpose. The only really new feature which we discovered was the use of a coffin to hold some of the material (pl. 94). The underlying idea seems to have been that since the rags and salts had been in contact with the body, they had become of the body and should be housed like it.

Another millennium passed by, and still Deir el BaĦri remained one of the sacred localities in the cemetery of ancient Thebes. Here and there we found mummies of the very last years of paganism, buried in shallow graves, some in coffins probably appropriated from the tomb of the family of Khaṛ-em-Ḥōr nearby, and others in stolen coffins which themselves were so late that the names of their first owners were written on them in Greek characters—Oros and Senpamōn. The mummies were atrocities of hideousness and are only mentioned here to draw forth an invidious comparison between the charming lady Ḥent-towy and her bedizened granddaughters of the last days of paganism at Deir el BaĦri (pl. 95).

SEASON OF 1924-1925

In the last broiling hot days of April, 1924, we had finally worked our way down to the burial crypt of the Twenty-first Dynasty tomb in which there lay nine complete sets of coffins.¹ It was perfectly evident when we got them stored in the house that there were months of work to be done on the mass of material from the tomb as well as the hundreds of tools and models from the foundation deposits, and rather than attempt to handle them under the handicap of an Upper Egyptian summer, we had left them packed away in our storerooms in Kurneh.

Naturally, that was a risky course to follow. Our neighbors, the fellāḥīn of Kurneh village, have lively imaginations. Before we had left, the rumor was going the rounds that Tūt-ʿankh-Amūn's wife with all her jewels was reposing in our magazines, and in the hot summer nights when the Nile began to rise over the parched fields and the peasants had the leisure to prune and graft and cultivate the rumor crop, there is no telling what truly marvelous fruits may have blossomed forth. At any rate, two local go-getters one night tunneled their way into a tomb on the opposite side of the hill behind our house; groped along the dark, ancient passages beneath the hill, and out of sight beneath the house our guards were watching above, they mined and sapped their way into one of our magazines—right into a store of empty pasteboard boxes and broken pots. Just by the way:—it is a striking commentary on the present-day "news value" of archaeology that we read in the New York papers of the break within forty-eight hours of its taking place. Still, lucky though we were on that occasion—for even the pasteboard boxes were recovered—the risk of another break was a serious one.

We devoted all of our time, therefore, once we were back in Luxor to cleaning up the magazines, except for a few days spent in Khārgēh Oasis emptying out our house there before we tore it down. In Luxor we finished our plans of the Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ temple and studying, repairing, and photographing material from our previous excavations. From a pit in the north triangular court, in which we had found the body of a tattooed dancing girl, an inmate of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿs harīm,² there was a bundle of splintered bits of wood which—cleaned and glued together—developed into an amusing little jewel box with two

¹ *Bulletin*, XIX (1926), March, II, p. 5.

² See above, page 74.

little compartments. The sliding lids were so contrived that when they were closed, two buttons on the top came close together and could be tied to each other with a cord and sealed with the owner's signet. A mass of corroded metal found in the same tomb, when properly treated became a most attractive amulet of gold and silver (pl. 36). From the tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty Queen Neferu, there were scraps of pleated linen still retaining the folds ironed into them four thousand years ago (pl. 36), and among other rags, we found sheets which were marked with the dates when they were made or with the names of those under whose charge they were woven. One of these last was the Chancellor Khety, whose name we have met on several other pieces of linen in our excavations.

In previous years five little holes had been disclosed in the Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ temple courtyard, each containing a number of triangular loaves of bread. Three of these deposits were near a structure built by Thut-mose III, five hundred years after Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿs day. The other two lay yards away near the north postern of the court. Surely all five were laid down at one time and should have been disposed in accordance with some method, but on the spot one's eyes naturally followed the orientation of the existing monuments, and no relation was obvious between the deposits themselves or between the deposits and the ruined temples. However, as Hauser's plans grew, and detail after detail was plotted in from our accumulation of data, these five deposits fell into a fairly straight line, askew to the final plan of the temples at Deir el Bahri, but oriented with the original, abandoned lay-out of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿs first architect. Further, this line ended at the spot where the priests had slaughtered an ox which we had found in 1922, and clearly we now had the line of the axis of the first project for the Eleventh Dynasty temple, laid out with an elaborate ritual before building was begun.³

To finish the half-completed clearing of the tomb of Queen Neferu, so that we could study its plan and see exactly its relation to the Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ structure, was an archaeological duty to be performed if it was in any way possible. Actual excavations were outside of our plans in the season of 1924-25, but two fortunate circumstances arose which made it possible. Mr. James Hazen Hyde's generous offer of financial support for any urgent need of the Expedition supplied the means for the work. The Egyptian Government's decision to start the restoration of the northeast portico of the Ḥat-shepsūt temple supplied the

³ See above, page 73.

occasion. Coöperating with Baraize we were able to clear the Eighteenth Dynasty filling behind part of the porch—a task necessary to consolidate the foundations before the restoration was begun, but one which would have been extremely risky had it not been done hand in hand with that consolidation.

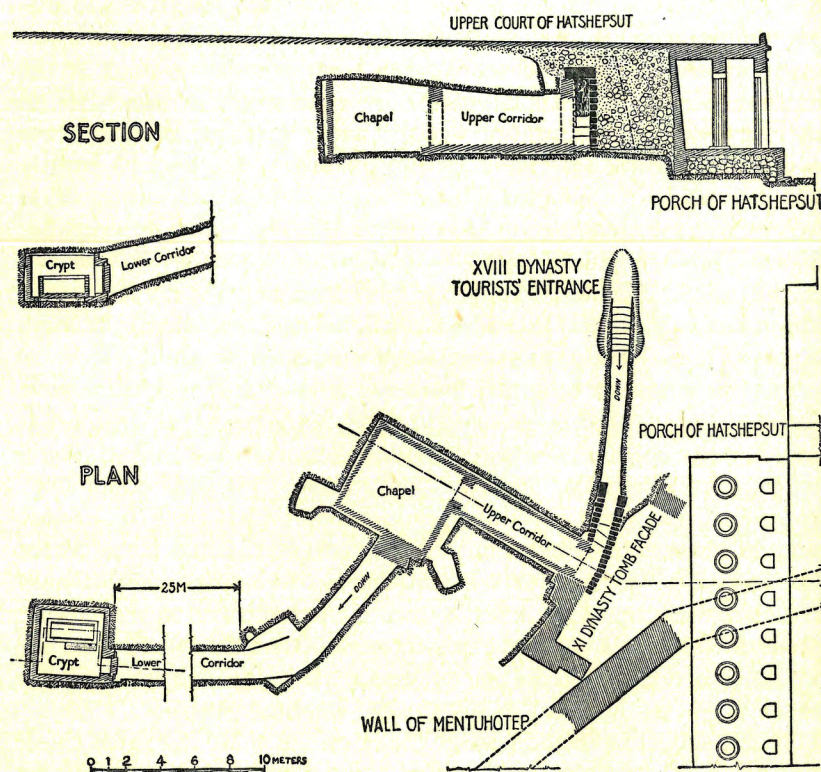


FIG. 8. PLAN OF THE TOMB OF QUEEN NEFERU

The tomb of Queen Neferu stands today, therefore, completely cleared (fig. 8). We can trace the outline of its brick façade directly behind a corner in the Neb-hepet-Rê court wall. In the center of its façade one entered a doorway into a lofty corridor tunneled in the rock, and thence to the underground chapel. Originally both corridor and chapel were lined with fine limestone masonry, elaborately carved but long since broken up.

In late dynastic times the chapel had been turned into a factory for

the making of limestone dishes, and the chips left after the walls had been turned into bowls and platters represented only a small fraction of the surfaces once sculptured. Nothing could be replaced here.

In ancient times the chapel was the limit to which a visitor could penetrate. An opening in its south side had been heavily built up and concealed after the queen's funeral, to hide the lower corridor from the inevitable tomb robbers—but all to no avail, for they had discovered the secret, torn down the wall, groped down the sloping lower corridor, knocked off a corner of the great monolithic door at the bottom (pl. 13), and broken into the crypt below. There they found themselves in a subterranean chamber lined with massive sandstone masonry and brilliantly painted with pictures of the queen's ghostly furniture and with chapter after chapter of the mysterious writings which would benefit her in the coming life. To one side stood her gigantic sarcophagus. They broke it open, and after they had robbed it, they tore down the wall opposite the entrance to the crypt to make absolutely certain that they had actually come to the end of the tomb and that there were no further passages concealed beyond.

On the scraps of sculpture retrieved from the chapel there were countless bits on which one could faintly trace the names of tourists who had scribbled on the walls thirty-five centuries ago. Such scribblings have often been remarked on ancient Egyptian monuments, and we ourselves had found them in the tomb of Khety. The question was, however, how Eighteenth Dynasty tourists could have visited the tomb of Neferu after the Hat-shepsut temple porch was built right across its entrance and the temple court was laid high above its doorway. The most obvious explanation was that they could not have visited it after Hat-shepsut's day, and that the scribblings which we found in the tomb chapel were all earlier than the temple.

It was while we were clearing the entrance of the tomb this year that we began to uncover a curious, rough stone construction to the right of the ruined doorway (pl. 12). From the nature of the masonry it was clearly contemporary with the temple. As the dirt was taken out we could see behind it an opening in the rock, leading north. An Arab was told to crawl in, and he reported that a narrow passage full of dirt led farther north. An improbable idea struck us. Workmen were put inside the passage to clear it out, and at the same time a small gang was started digging above at a point toward which the passage was headed. It was not long before the men underground were pulling the dirt from under the feet of the gang above, and finally one of the boys helping the upper gang fell right through to the men below. A

few hours more and we had a narrow tunnel descending from the upper court of the temple, down through the earth and rock, through the curious stone structure, right to the door of Neferu's tomb. We had reopened the ancient tourists' entrance to the still more ancient tomb.

The discovery was an enlightening one for our conception of the Egyptians' attitude toward their own history and art. We have long known that they admired and visited the monuments of their ancestors, but this is probably one of the few evidences which we have ever recognized of an Egyptian architect going to a certain amount of expense out of deference to this antiquarian feeling, and providing a means for his contemporaries to visit a monument already five hundred years old. Naturally, in the restoration of the Ḥat-shepsūt temple, this ancient tourists' passage was put into condition once more for the tourists of to-day, and the temple porch has been built up again across the door of the tomb without shutting it off entirely.

Some hundred years before this stairway was built, a woman had been buried in a pit on the site of the Sṯankh-ka-Rē temple, and though we had found her body four years before it was only in 1925 that we realized her importance.⁴ Two fragments of her linen bandages bore the name of the "King's Daughter Aḥ-mose Tu-mer-isi." Now a princess of this name is listed among the members of the royal family of the early Eighteenth Dynasty in the tombs of the priests of the necropolis at Deir el Medīneh. And further, the coffin of a child of this princess existed in St. Petersburg, and from it we learned that Tu-mer-isi was herself a daughter of Queen Aḥ-hotpe and King Amen-hotpe I.⁵ It seems, then, that in 1921 we had found the tomb of one of the members of the royal family. Although it was completely plundered and ruined, nevertheless we had some hint of its original richness. The ancient thieves had ghoulishly ripped the arms off of the princess' body to carry them to the light where they could pick the bracelets off of them more easily, and then they had tossed them aside where we had found them, still bearing the imprint of the stolen jewels. A set of objects in blue faience from this same tomb has been in the Museum since our excavations of 1921-22.

The architect of Deir el Baḥri was one of Ḥat-shepsūt's favorites, her Chief of Works, the Steward Sen-Mūt, a figure almost unique in ancient Egypt. The Egyptian artist did not sign his work. It was the client—or in those days perhaps more properly the patron—who got

⁴ See above, page 47.

⁵ We have to thank Dr. Alan H. Gardiner for calling our attention to Tu-mer-isi's parentage.

all of the credit. Hence, while we may know the names of a few minor artists or artisans, we do not know their works; and while we know many masterpieces, we do not know their authors. But in the period of Ḥat-shepsūt we do know the names of several of the men who conducted the Queen's affairs, and we do know that Sen-Mūt was directly charged with the building of many of the Queen's edifices. That he should have tried to sign his work, or rather that he should have tried to get, with the gods if not with his contemporaries, some of the credit accruing from his work is an anecdote well worth adding to our knowledge of the life of one who was a really great master.

Ḥat-shepsūt's temple has great courts from which open a number of chapels and a score or more of little closets for housing cult objects. Each of these chapels and closets once had its wooden doors, invariably opening inwards. When there was a ceremony to be performed, the priest opened the doors, went through his ritual, and then closed and sealed the doors once more. No one was ever in a chapel with the door closed, therefore no one would ever see what was hidden on the wall behind a door when it was open. Sen-Mūt took advantage of this circumstance. He had a sketch made of himself praying before the gods, and this he gave to a sculptor who squared it off and transferred it to the walls behind every single chapel or closet door in the temple—carving it to a varying scale to suit the space, and making the figure turn to right or left so that it always faced the altar. In front of the figure was written the substance of his prayer, followed by Sen-Mūt's own name. The portrait was flat and needed but the merest crack behind the door for an uninterrupted view of the altar at all times, and with luck no one should ever have discovered him.

But such conduct was most reprehensible. In Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt it was even more of a sacrilege than Phidias committed in later Athens when he introduced his own portrait into the decorations on the shield of Athena. Only the sovereign had the right to be portrayed in a temple sanctuary in communion with the gods; a mere human might, at most, be shown as one of the lesser figures in the sovereign's train. Still worse, Sen-Mūt was guilty of belonging to a tottering political clique—the Queen's favorites. Before the completion of the temple, Ḥat-shepsūt was dead and all of her intimates attainted by Thūt-mose III. Some one gave away the secret of Sen-Mūt's little pictures, and for his sacrilege and for his politics, they were ruthlessly hacked out. We noticed these rough spaces in all the doorways, and in favorable lights could now and then trace some bit of the obliterated carving and even make out Sen-Mūt's name where the chiseling had

been less thorough (pl. 45). Finally, in the dark little closets opening off of the innermost chambers of the Ḥat-Ḥor chapel, we found where the destroyers had missed four of the portraits altogether. Here one may still read, inscribed in front of the little figures, the title "Giving praise to Ḥat-Ḥor"—or in another, to Amūn—"for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of Ḥat-shepsūt, by the Steward Sen-Mūt." Even to pray for the Queen's good fortune he had to hide behind a door, so presumptuous was it for him to trespass into the sanctuaries, and worse still, it really seems as if he had so far forgotten himself as to leave Her Majesty quite out of some of the almost legible prayers written beside the half-obliterated pictures.

In 1923-24 we discovered, at the foot of the first ramp leading to the upper platforms of the temple, the flower beds and papyrus pools which had been laid out for the temple inauguration.⁶ It was important to find their exact relation to the temple ramp, the foot of which had been buried in water-washed sand centuries ago, and which Naville had failed to clear. Again Mr. Hyde's fund supplied us with the means. We dug away some four or five feet of sand and under it found the solid masonry—not of a simple, smooth ramp, but of one with the foundations for a flight of sandstone stairs down its center, exactly the width of the granite doorways at the top. To the left of the ruined masonry lay a large block of limestone, half buried and half exposed to the ravages of the weather. This we rolled over and on one side found carved a magnificent lion in the finest Eighteenth Dynasty style, and on the front a symbolical design of "life" upholding Ḥat-shepsūt's name, unfortunately less well preserved. A day or two later and several yards away, the men turned up two fragments of a smaller block which gave us the lion's hind legs and the root of his tail (pl. 45).

Another gigantic block of limestone, curved along its top edge, lay below the ramp farther along and gave us the form of the balustrade. The block bearing the lion was evidently the newel post at the bottom of the ramp balustrade, and it would have been unthinkable to have done anything with it except to put it back where it belonged. Baraize entered thoroughly into the spirit of the thing. His two best masons, Abd el Bagy and Mugraby, were turned over to us. Elaborate studies were made to discover the exact position of the block and then the half-decayed stones were replaced with infinite care and the pavement restored around them. Of the right-hand balustrade we had found nothing, and with only the left-hand replaced the whole temple

⁶ See above, page 90.

approach had a lopsided look. We therefore brought up massive, uninscribed blocks of limestone from some of our old excavations and rebuilt a few yards of balustrade on the right, with its stela-shaped newel post restored from the half-obliterated indications still discernible on the lion block.

This was archaeology in its most practical form. We had drawn a restoration on paper which we were able to put to the searching test of actual execution. And it was only in doing that, that we were able to find how far we had been right—and how far wrong. However, in the end we got something which fulfilled all of the indications which we had and, with the gardens found the year before, gave us a closer idea of Sen-Mūt's conception of a temple approach.

Among the finds of the preceding year had been four of those foundation deposits,⁷ so like the contents of a modern corner-stone, which were placed during the ceremony of "the stretching of the cord" on the day when Ḥat-shepsūt and her architects and priests laid out her temple. At each important corner and angle of the intended building there was dug a pit, a yard wide and nearly a man's height deep, to contain models of the tools with which the structure was to be erected, and samples of the food which was to be the eternal provision for Ḥat-shepsūt and the god Amūn in the finished temple. Into each hole were thrown the head and a fore-leg of a bullock slaughtered for the occasion, with platters of bread and saucers of figs, jujubes, dates, and grapes, and alabaster jars of ointments, mixed pell-mell with the models of the tools of carpenters, masons, and the smelters of metal (pl. 42). The four deposits found in 1923-24, not counting others found previously, supplied an embarrassing amount of material. Of baskets, of adzes, and of chisels, for example, there were a score of each; of both picks and stone-masons' rockers, well over fifty; and of pots and dishes literally hundreds.

It is not often that an expedition has to solve the problem of disposing of an excess of material, nor are many problems so simple and obvious in their solutions. This past season in the field, we made casts of the bricks lining these pits, saved samples of them for their color, and collected some of the surrounding desert dirt. Once returned home, casts and samples, photographs and drawings were taken to the Museum's shops and in a few days there reappeared one of the ancient pits, so faithfully true that to those who saw them in Deir el BaĦri there is something uncanny to find one of them appearing in New

⁷ See above, page 89.

York. Into it we have put a representative lot of the objects just as they were deposited centuries ago, and alongside there are shown others from the remaining deposits in a case where they can be studied in closer detail.

As to the day of "the stretching of the cord" at the foundation of the temple of Deir el Baḥri, an interesting speculation is now possible. In the five deposits which we had found in the temple enclosure—one in 1921–22 and four in 1923–24—there were figs, dates, grapes, jujubes, celery, and leaves of the persea. These are autumn fruits in Thebes, and hence it must have been in the autumn that the temple was laid out, in good season so that building might begin upon it after the peasants were free from their autumn sowing when the inundation was off of the fields.

Much of the winter was spent on the tedious task of salvaging the coffins found the year before in the waterlogged tomb. That of Min-mose, in which the first Ḥent-towy was buried, had escaped flooding in the ancient rain-storms, but the adjoining tomb, made for the three princesses of the family of the High Priest Men-kheper-Rē, had been deluged with water in ancient times. The coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty were constructed of wood covered with a layer of plaster and elaborately painted inside and out. The wood had alternately swelled and contracted, and the plaster had rotted in the successive drenchings which the coffins had been subjected to, and when we found them the decorations in several cases were in a most perilous state. Before such objects could be packed something had to be done to conserve them.

Paraffin wax was found, after experiment, to be the most satisfactory preservative material. Melted almost to the boiling point, it was painted all over the surface with brushes and squirted into the cracks in the plaster with a small syringe. The plaster became almost elastic, once it was thoroughly impregnated with the wax, and while still warm could be gently pushed back into contact with the wood where the latter had shrunk away from it. The usual objection to the use of paraffin as a preservative—that it changes the color of an object—did not obtain here. Fortunately these coffins had been varnished in antiquity with a durable, resinous shellac which had already made the colors unchangeable and which protected the surface of the plaster so effectually that after we had finished consolidating each coffin it was a simple matter to wash the excess wax off, leaving the surface the unaltered ancient varnish. When this was done the closest examination hardly showed a trace of the preservative material used, and the Museum is able to show a comprehensive series of the coffins of the

period of the High Priests of Amūn, excelled only by that in Cairo.

The coffins of Princess Ḥent-towy, daughter of King Pay-nūdjem, are now in the Cairo Museum. Those of the princesses, the High Priestess Djed-Mūt-es-ʿankh (pl. 85) and Ḥent-towy, daughter of Iset-em-kheb; of the man, Men-kheper-Rē (pls. 84–5); and of the women Ta-beket-Mūt, Nesit-Iset and Teye, are in the Metropolitan Museum. The coffins of Men-kheper-Rē had originally been made for a priest named Aḥ-mose and one can still see plainly where the name of Aḥ-mose was painted over in the inscriptions with light yellow paint and that of Men-kheper-Rē substituted. The coffins in which we found the woman Nesit-Iset had been intended for ʿAnkhes-Mūt, whose name no one had even taken the trouble to erase. On the other hand, the coffins in which the three princesses were buried were especially made for them by the most skilful artisans of the epoch. Curiously, this was really unfortunate for us, because the undertakers who brought the body of Men-kheper-Rē down into the tomb could not withstand the temptation of the burnished gilding on the hands and faces. During a funeral ceremony there was little time for leisurely pilfering. A few rough blows with an axe and the hands and faces were hacked off of the three sets of royal coffins and surreptitiously taken from the tomb to some place where the gold could be burnt off, leaving us to supply from our imaginations the gracious portraits which once adorned them.

It seems certain that the Egyptian of the Twenty-first Dynasty must have regarded the decoration of a coffin very much as the man of the Middle Ages must have looked upon the design of an ecclesiastical stained-glass window. The decoration of both was a repetition of religious motives in which the individual elements were hardly to be regarded separately. It was the mosaic of intricate patterns and the harmony of rich colors over the whole composition that gave the opulent effect desired. In the case of the Egyptian, at least, we have certain proof that he never expected any one to examine his work in detail. Now and then a coffin painter, tired to death of gods and demons, and certain that his work would never be closely scrutinized, introduced among the divine mysteries some vulgar caricature—and was not caught.

There is, of course, material on such coffins for the student of Egyptian religion, but for most of those who see them in modern museums they will appeal, as they did to the ancient Egyptian, through their rich blending of color and the ingenuity with which inscriptions and vignettes have been interwoven. The unerring skill of the drafting of

some of the figures is no less admirable (pl. 85). The Goddess of the West waving the symbols of life among a weird company of the serpents of the netherworld is drawn with the meticulous care of a miniature painter on the innermost cover of Henty-towy, daughter of Iset-em-kheb.

Once the coffins were finished we began to work on the mummies themselves. As we removed each layer of bandages, photographs and notes were made to illustrate the wrapping, and when the bodies were completely exposed the help of Dr. Douglas E. Derry was enlisted in a detailed study of the technique of embalming in the Twenty-first Dynasty. There were ten mummies available for the study, and the Museum's Expedition is now in possession of remarkably complete data on the funerary customs of the period. As these ten mummies ranged in rank from three princesses of the High Priest's family to members of the upper bourgeoisie, and as no cost had been spared on their funerals, we may use them to reconstruct the ideal equipment for the next world of the better-class Egyptian of the period.

Only one abnormal circumstance was noted among all ten mummies. The girl Hent-towy—she was about eighteen years old—found in the tomb of Min-mose, had not been subjected to the long process of embalming but had been merely bandaged up and buried alone in the abandoned tomb as soon as she had died. Haste had been shown but no particular economy, for her coffins were of the best and her shrouds of the most voluminous. Furthermore, on her wrists there were nine little bead bracelets, on her throat three strings of beads with gold lions hanging in front, and on her left hand two gold rings with green glazed scarabs. It is noticeable, though, that these were the little trinkets which Hent-towy wore in life and not the sepulchral amulets especially made for the dead. What her story may have been we can not guess. At least no such haste was shown in disposing of a young woman named Gau-sen, aged twenty, when she came to an untimely end at the hands of persons unknown, who struck her over the eye with a blunt instrument, fracturing her forehead and the left side of her face. However, poor Gau-sen had lived several agonizing weeks before she had died, and evidently there was then no concealment possible—even if it had been desirable—for her body had been put through the whole long preparation for burial and was finally laid to rest in the tomb of the three princesses.

When a Twenty-first Dynasty undertaker received the body of a person to be prepared for burial, his first operation was to make an incision in its left flank and to remove all of the internal organs except

the heart—the seat of life. The organs were carefully preserved, and the body was put to soak in a brine vat for a period which probably ran into weeks. When the body was taken out of the bath again, it was emaciated beyond all recognition, and with what seems very doubtful taste, the undertaker then proceeded to give the body what was conceived to be a natural look. Salt, soda, ashes, and sawdust were rammed into the arms and legs and even into the cheeks of the corpse until it was literally stuffed into a travesty of the human form—an operation which left many evidences of rather rough handling, even necessitating an occasional leather patch to make good the damage done to the skin. False eyes of glass or little balls of white linen with black pupils painted on them were then pushed under the eyelids, the face was painted, and the eyebrows blackened. A photograph of the Lady Teye is shown here (pl. 87), partly because it was the least incongruous of those which we found, and partly because it shows the astounding condition into which the fashionable woman of the day got her ears. Heavy earrings had stretched the lobes down to a level with her chin, and then, possibly because the earrings knocked against her shoulders, new punctures were made and the process started all over again.

To return to the undertakers. The organs which had been preserved in brine were wrapped up into seven packages, in four of which were put small wax figures of the four children of the god Horus. These seven packages were then put back into the body through the incision in the flank, and the latter was covered over with a plate of metal or wax displaying the "Eye of Horus." When the time came to return the organs into the body of one woman, it was discovered that they were lost or strayed—unless they had been wilfully thrown away in the first place to save trouble. The embalmer thereupon made up some intestines with a coil of rope, a liver out of a piece of cowskin with the red hair still on it, and the other organs with bits of leather or rag, and solemnly bundled them up into the seven required parcels and put them in the poor lady's body with the four sacred figures. It seems rather a callous cheat.

The days had passed when the dead were decked in the ornaments of this life. In the Twenty-first Dynasty their whole equipment was more ghostly and more magically potent. Their only amulets were those which protected the dead from their natural enemies, the demons of the underworld. Djed-Mūt-es-ankh had a little gold uraeus on her forehead and on her throat four little gold amulets which were, at the same time, hieroglyphs. In the order in which they were strung

they spelled out, perhaps intentionally, a punning charm on her name. Djed-Mūt-es-ʿankh may be translated "The Goddess Mūt says, 'She lives.'" The four little amulets may be read Djed-Mūt-djed-ib—"Mūt says, 'Let her heart endure!'" Two more important amulets were put upon the mummy's chest after the first layers of the bandages. One was the hawk with outstretched wings in metal, and the other a large stone scarab, laid over the heart and inscribed with an old and potent charm which enlisted the aid of Mūt in the heart's protection (pl. 87). Another object to be regarded as an amulet was the papyrus placed between the mummy's legs at a slightly later stage in the bandaging (pl. 86), about which a few words later.

Meantime the bandaging had begun. There was a rigid system to be followed and probably an equally fixed ritual of recitations to accompany it. A well-defined and never varying order can be traced, of alternating bandages wound on the limbs and body spirally, and of sheets covering the body from head to foot (pl. 86). At a certain stage the head was always drawn forward with a strip of linen twisted from the back of the head over the face and under the ribs; the arms were lashed to the thighs at a stated moment, with a prescribed hitch; sawdust packing had its proper level to round the mummy out; and always twice in the course of the proceedings the bandages were made impervious with melted resin, poured on the first time, and smeared on by hand the second, as it chilled.

The amount of linen used on a single body was enormous, but there is one interesting side-light on the cost of the material. Almost all, if not quite all of it was old, worn linen, frequently darned and mended. Most of it was old shirts and some, old sheets and shawls, but closely as we might study it, we never could determine absolutely whether undertakers bought up old rags for their business or whether everybody saved their own old clothes for the purpose. Probably it was the latter. There was, however, at least one sheet made especially for the trade, to be put on the mummy when it was practically finished. It was a sheet of specially woven, coarse linen, spread over the bandages and tied in place by cords woven in for the purpose. On this sheet was drawn a figure of Osiris, life-sized, as if to make the body one with the god himself (pl. 87). A protective outer sheet was put over the whole body and stitched up the back, and a set of tapes applied outside, more for looks than anything else. The body was now ready for its coffins and the tomb.

Twice, above, the undertakers have been accused of venality. There was the case of the substitution of organs in one woman, and still

further back, the vandalism done the coffins of the three princesses was laid to those who buried the later bodies in the tomb. This last case is a fairly clear one. No one could have got at the princesses' coffins after those of Nesit-Iset and Ta-beket-Mūt were put on top of them, and the robberies therefore must have been committed at least before these last two funerals were over. At a later date the professional necropolis thieves had been in the tomb, it is true, but they had only penetrated to an upper, later chamber and had never found the lower crypt where the princesses were buried. Hence, in the report of the previous year we laid the guilt to the ancient undertakers.

Apparently Hent-towy, daughter of King Pay-nūdjem, was the first person buried in the tomb, Djed-Mūt-es-ʿankh was the second, and Hent-towy, daughter of Iset-em-kheb, the third. The mummy of this second Hent-towy lay in its coffin, neatly wrapped in its bandages with the outer sheet sewed up the back and the tapes tied tightly above it. When we came to Djed-Mūt-es-ʿankh and the first Hent-towy, however, the tapes simply lay upon the outer sheets which had been pulled up over the mummies, and when these sheets were turned back the bandages over the mummies' chests were found to be a mess of crumpled rags, through which some one had torn and cut his way, rummaging down to the place where jewelry might be found (pl. 86). On the mummy of Djed-Mūt-es-ʿankh they had even slashed their way down to her left hand, which they had pulled up, searching for rings. The loot once seized, the bandages were hastily stuffed back and the outer sheet—purposely uncut in the first place—was drawn up again more or less neatly, to hide the theft. That the second Hent-towy had not suffered this treatment argues that it was her undertakers who had robbed the first two princesses. As for the pilfering of the gold-leaf from the coffins of all three princesses, suspicion for it falls, as we have seen, upon those who opened the tomb for the funeral of Men-kheper-Rē, and they too had hidden their theft by laying a linen sheet across all three mutilated faces. The ordinary ancient tomb robbers never displayed any such scruples.

Such venality is bad enough, but even if we have reconstructed the sequence of these robberies correctly, it might still be said that at least the undertakers had not robbed their own patrons. Further evidence came to light, however, that thefts often took place without even that much to be said by way of extenuation.

The mummies of Hent-towy, daughter of Iset-em-kheb, and of Nesit-Iset lay just as they had been placed in the grave, and we had every reason to believe that they were still intact. The tapes, the outer

sheet, and the Osiris sheet were neatly and carefully folded on the bodies and stitched up the back. Everything was in perfect order at first, and then gradually, as we unwrapped them, we began to find more and more confusion among the bandages over the chest. The truth dawned on us when we found at last, on both mummies, casts in the resin of the metal pectoral hawks, but the pectoral hawks themselves gone. Then we noticed that the heart scarabs in both cases had been taken out and put back carelessly; that around the torn bandages on the chests there were the marks of fingers sticky with resin on layers of linen that should have been clean; and finally, that the left hand of Nesit-Isset had been laid bare in a search for finger rings.

There can be little question as to what had happened here. The mummies had been rifled before they were even completely wrapped, and that must have taken place in the undertakers' own establishments. Fortunately for us, pieces of metal jewelry only were being sought, and papyri or heart scarabs were useless to the thieves. But what a picture do we get for the moralists!

Mention has been made above of the rolls of papyri placed between the legs of the dead, and a photograph was shown of one of the six little wooden figures of the god Osiris found in the tomb, with a papyrus hidden within his legs (pl. 82). Since the dead person became Osiris and was portrayed as Osiris on the sheet which covered his body, the little figure of the god was in some sort another body, and like the mortal one, bore its papyrus roll as well.

As is well known, papyrus was a paper made from the pith of a reed. The reeds were cut usually a little less than a foot long; the pith was sliced into narrow strips; these strips were glued side by side in two layers with the fibers of one layer at right angles to those of the other; and then the whole was beaten into thin sheets, which might be glued to each other to make longer rolls. When papyri have remained rolled up tightly for three thousand years, as these had, the glue has become unelastic and the fibers have lost their strength to such an extent that the sheets would split to pieces if one attempted to unroll them as they are found. Some semblance of their original life must be given them with moisture—just enough to soften them, but not enough to melt the glue right out of the fibers. It is a delicate job under any circumstances and especially in the desert air of Egypt where it is next to impossible to keep the right degree of dampness long enough to finish unrolling.

That there should be any practical use in the summer "dog-days" of New York never occurred to us before this job fell to our lot. Then,

however, we remembered—not with longing but at least with appreciation—the damp, soggy heat in which this city swelters through July and August. That was just what we needed, and the papyri were packed, still rolled up in Luxor, forwarded to New York, and unpacked again there in July. Humidors such as cigars are kept in, were contrived and the rolls were put into them. Then we, probably alone of all the people in New York, anxiously waited for sticky, hot days—preferably with thunder storms—and as soon as a day promised to be unbearable, out came a papyrus and gently it was unrolled and pressed out between sheets of glass. A few went easily. They were those which had not been soaked when the tomb was flooded in antiquity. But there were others from which the glue that once held the fibers together had been dissolved entirely away by the ancient rain-water. The fibers in them were something like bundles of impalpable jackstraws, to be sorted out without disturbing their neighbors. One badly decayed and moulded roll—of Hent-towy, daughter of Pay-nūdjem—turned out to be two sheets wrapped one within the other, and to separate them our task seemed as impossible as lifting one shadow from off another.

With these worst-decayed rolls it was a problem to know what could be done to hold the delicate fibers together long enough to mount them under glass, since they had lost all of their original glue. Fortunately, Mr. Ivins was at hand to give us advice and an introduction to Mr. Lydenberg of the New York Public Library. Mr. Lydenberg showed us how the most perilous of the old documents in the Library were mounted on almost invisible *mousseline de soie*, and he had made for us the special paste needful for the work. We then constructed a frame in which we could stretch *mousseline de soie* over a sheet of glass and cover it with paste. Our papyrus was laid upon the fabric and unrolled directly on it; the frame was then lifted, removing the fabric and the papyrus together from the glass; and once the paste had dried we had the papyrus both unrolled and reinforced with an absolute minimum of lost scraps and fibers.

The rolls which we have thus retrieved turned out to be abridgments of the two collections of religious texts known as the "Book of the Dead" and the "Book of the Underworld." Properly speaking, it would seem, one should be placed on the body and the other in the Osiride figure. Both contain those charms and spells which it was needful for a person to know, in order that the funeral rites might be efficacious and that he might be admitted to the company of the gods and escape the dangers besetting him on his ghostly journeys. The

actual words of most of the spells are given merely in epitomized form, but the vignettes in many cases give the clue to the contents. The body is mourned at the tomb doorway while the soul hovers nearby. The deceased then enters the presence of Osiris, King of the Underworld, and propitiates him with offerings. Then come the weird demons of the future life, guarding the doors of the underworld, presiding over the hours of the night, or lurking by the fiery pools. Among these last the dead were to beware of a gigantic red and yellow serpent with a bearded, black, human face, a tail ending in flapping wings, and a decapitated corpse of one of his victims lying in every coil (pl. 88).

Most of the material which we had found in tombs of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Dynasties received at least passing mention in the last chapter, but the mummies of the Roman women were passed over with a rather scathing reference to their bedizened looks. It was perhaps rather harsh, for one of them, found under a mass of willow and henna boughs in a plain, rectangular coffin (pl. 96), has supplied us with a charming pair of dyed palm-leaf sandals—almost unworn—and a very interesting woolen turban. Apparently it was the style in Thebes about the beginning of the Christian era to swathe the hair in fine linen veils until the head was twice its natural size, and then over that, to pull such a netted brown and red turban, tied behind with drawing-strings.

There are scarcely twenty yards between the tomb of Neferu, where we found scraps of her pleated dresses, and the grave of this woman, where we found her woolen turban—but twenty centuries had passed between the lives of the two. In fact, Neferu was older to the Roman woman than the Roman woman is to us. And yet, while our excavations had covered this enormous lapse of time, they seem to have begun and ended in women's fashions.

SEASON OF 1925-1926

Since we had no big gang of workmen to tie us down to a daily routine in the winter of 1925-26, the chance to follow the Eleventh Dynasty away from Thebes seemed too good to be missed.¹ We knew that there were two graffiti at Aswān and a rock carving at the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl, and it seemed to Percy E. Newberry, who was a most delightful house guest at the time, and to me that if we could get a look at them, our Deir el Baḥri work might give us some useful clues as to their interpretation.

With the Aswān graffiti we had no luck whatever. We knew that they were records left on the rocks at the foot of the cataract by the Chancellor Khety and the Controller of the Eastern Heliopolitan Nome, whose name might be read Mery, when they were there in the 41st Year of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's reign supervising a river expedition to the Sudan. But after hours of climbing among the rocks where they were said to be, we had to give up the search, feeling fairly certain that one of them at least had been destroyed not long before by some miserable peasant looking for rock to build a new house. After four thousand years it seems rather an ignominious end for the memorial of a high dignitary.

The Shaṭṭ er Rigāl rock carving has already been mentioned in these reports as portraying King Neb-ḥepet-Rē, his mother Iṯaḥ (who was probably the mother of Queen Neferu as well), In-tef (who was presumably the Crown Prince), and the Chancellor Khety.² Neither Newberry nor I had ever seen it except in publications. In fact, very few archaeologists seem ever to have visited the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl, a most out-of-the-way little valley seventy-five miles above Thebes, across the river from the railway and far from any of the steamer landings. We could only explain its position vaguely to our head man, Gilāni Suleymān, and send him off with tents, tent strikers, and a cook, and orders to find a picture of a king and queen with two people standing in front of them and to pitch camp beside it. We followed a couple of days later.

It was a desolate spot. Just to the south, the Nile breaks through a spur of the desert hills called the Gebel Silsileh, eddying and swirling

¹ *Bulletin*, XXIII (1928), II, p. 4. See also *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, LVII (1940), p. 137. No report on the work at Thebes in 1925-26 actually appeared in the *Bulletin*, but as part of the account of the excavation published in 1928 so largely deals with that year it is here slightly rearranged and given the date 1925-1926.

² See above, page 87.

against the low, naked, sandstone cliffs. Every mile or so a small arid valley cuts through the hills from the higher desert to the west, and at its mouth forms a narrow, sandy bottom and a few yards of thorny fields, or space for a little grove of palms or scrubby acacia trees. Only in these valley mouths was there room to pitch a camp and it was to one of them that Gilāni led us (pl. 22).

Stopping only to drop our few belongings into a tent, Newberry and I turned to the little valley behind it. A few steps from the river edge and we were on a flat floor of sand with the dark brown sandstone rocks rising abruptly on either hand. A few more paces, and there, high up on a rock on our left, stood King Neb-ḥepet-Rē, life-size, and his mother Iṯah, facing up the little valley toward Prince In-tef and Chancellor Khety, who were approaching from the direction of the desert. We were taken completely by surprise. Somehow, we had expected to see a small, rather insignificant sketch hastily scratched on the rock, and we found ourselves gazing up at a magnificent monument, the work of professional sculptors who must obviously have labored for days on the cliff face, carving a memorial for some event of unusual importance.

As we made our way up the little valley, we came to a second stela forty or fifty yards beyond—lower down on the rock and smaller, but quite as well carved. This time the Chancellor Khety alone appeared before his sovereign. Still walking desertwards we noticed all along the southern, shady side of the little valley names scribbled everywhere. We must have seen fully two hundred graffiti before we got to a great sand dune that blocked our path about half a mile up from the valley mouth. There they stopped abruptly.

After a quick lunch we went back for a more careful look. We had just reexamined the big stela and were passing on to the little one when midway between them we noticed a group of some ten bold, well-carved inscriptions above us on the rock. Notebook in hand we were scrambling up over the boulders to get a closer view when whose name should strike us but that of the Meket-Rē of the tomb with the model boats and gardens and shops found by us in Thebes some years before.³ And to say that the name struck us is no exaggeration, it came upon us so unexpectedly here. A moment later we recognized the Superintendent of Treasurers, Meru, whose tomb we had cleared at Deir el Baḥri not far from that of the Chancellor Khety. Nearby there were the names of Ḥepy, First under the King, and Yaṯy,

³ See above, page 19.

Scribe of the Royal Archives, both of whom were pictured among Neb-ḥepet-Rē's courtiers in the Deir el Baḥri temple. Close at hand was the name of a Mery (here called "Binder of the King's Regions in all His Seats," whatever that may mean) who may have been the Mery who went with Khety to Aswān in the 41st Year. The Governor of the Northland, Iṯu; the Herald of the King, Meḥesa son of Dagi; the Superintendent of Sculptors, Woser-iner son of In-tef; and the Follower Sebk-hotpe were strangers to us, but since their names were carved in the same large, careful hieroglyphics and in the same restricted group between the two stelae, we took it for granted that they were contemporary.⁴

Each of these inscriptions was carefully and painstakingly carved by skilled workmen—doubtless the subordinates of the Chief Sculptor Woser-iner whose name was among them. Each name was preceded by high court titles and some were followed by the phrase "truly beloved" or "truly favored by his Lord." If we include the smaller stela of the Chancellor Khety as among these inscriptions, three names—and perhaps four—were those of identified owners of tombs in the Neb-ḥepet-Rē cemeteries at Thebes, three more were names inscribed in the Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple, and another name was perhaps that of a Neb-ḥepet-Rē courtier at Aswān.

Still another thing tended to make one group of these inscriptions. The two stelae bounded them to east and west, and looking more closely we found that just before the first stela and just beyond the second, someone had carved in tall hieroglyphs "Year 39," bracketing as it were both stelae and inscriptions. Nothing had been added to show what the date applied to, but it is more than probable that it was that of the stelae and the names between them. Khety, we know, was active in Aswān two years later, and perhaps the Mery of the Shaṯṯ er Rigāl was the Mery who was in Aswān with Khety on that occasion. Meru has left a stela elsewhere dated to the 46th Year and Meket-Rē survived Neb-ḥepet-Rē and held high office under his successor. Thus at least three or four of the courtiers whose names we had identified belonged to Neb-ḥepet-Rē's middle age and would have been active in the 39th Year of his reign.

Without doubt many of the other graffiti in the Shaṯṯ er Rigāl name the lesser fry in the trains of Neb-ḥepet-Rē Mentu-hotpe and his nobles. The rocks were scribbled over by innumerable other Mentu-hotpes, In-tefs, Ipi, Khetys—and even a Meket among

⁴ See Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, nos. 448, 455-56, 459, 463, 468, 472-74, 486-87.

them—all names common in the Eleventh Dynasty. But they were just such scribblings as any passer-by might scratch on the rocks for himself, and as they were not professional carvings we could not differentiate them from those of later visitors. Of these latter there seems to have been a continuous procession for the next five hundred years, from the reign of S'ankh-ka-Rē' at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty to that of Thut-mose III in the Eighteenth, and few of them seem to have been able to resist the temptation of adding their names to the crowd already there.

We were up the little valley as long as the light lasted, and were back again after dinner in the dark, for we found that some of the faintest of the graffiti could be made quite legible with electric flash-lights after nightfall. And finally when we came back to bed, it was a long time before we could sleep, trying to puzzle out what under the sun could have brought the court of Neb-ḥepet-Rē' to this desolate, out-of-the-way spot where our tent was pitched.

In the first place it could have had nothing to do with the quarrying which was so actively pursued in this region a little later, for the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl seems to have been the one spot in the neighborhood where little or no stone was ever cut. And in any case we should have to find something more imposing than the opening of a quarry to account for the presence of Neb-ḥepet-Rē' himself, his presumably aged mother, the Crown Prince In-tef, the great Chancellor Khety, at least ten other great grandees of the court, and an uncertain number of lesser followers. Whatever the occasion, it had to be one in which the chief actor after the royalties themselves was the Chancellor Khety and it was only natural to cast around in Khety's career for some clue. Two years later he and Mery were in charge of an expedition to the Sudan—how would such an expedition fit here?

Almost due west across the desert from us lay the southernmost tip of Khārgēh Oasis, at a distance which could be covered in three days' marching time from water to water. But better still, southwest of us, at two days' caravanning, lay the wells of Kūrkūr, a regular stopping-place on the desert roads to the Sudan. From Kūrkūr one could reach the Nile again at the bend near Amadeh in Upper Nubia in three days at the outside, or prolonging the desert trip from Kūrkūr through the little oases of Dungūl and Selimeh one could easily descend into the Sudan between the Second and Third Cataracts. The Shaṭṭ er Rigāl or any of the other little valleys nearby led up to the top of the rolling plateau, across which the natives of the neighborhood had said that the going was perfectly good.

A desert expedition from this region was practical, then, and moreover it was very probable. The district of Gebel Silsileh and the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl had been a favorite landfall for the nomads who crossed the desert wastes to the Nile Valley in very ancient times. For several miles along the river bank, northward from the Silsileh water-gap, the cliffs are covered with crude and primitive pictographs which are obviously more weathered and older than the Eleventh Dynasty carvings beside them. Their like is found at few places elsewhere along the Nile, but I have seen exactly the same type of thing two hundred miles out in the desert between the Oases of Khārgēh and Dakhleh, and Hassanein Bey has traced them much farther into the Sahara among the little-known oases of the far southwest. If these are records of desert trips made by the prehistoric Bedawīn, we seem to have another of an expedition made by the Egyptians of historic times. Seven centuries after Neb-ḥepet-Rē', Ḥar-em-ḥab chose the temple at Gebel Silsileh as the appropriate place to picture the return from a raid into the Sudan with all of the detail which we might expect if it had first reentered Egypt at this very spot. Nor need it cause any surprise that, in preference to descending the river, the ancient Egyptians should sometimes have braved the desert roads to a neighborhood as far north as this. Until a very few generations ago the slave dealers from the Sudan followed the desert roads two hundred miles still farther north, all the way to Assiūt.

The return of an expedition from the Sudan under the Crown Prince In-tef and the Chancellor Khety thus seemed a logical explanation of the presence at the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl of Neb-ḥepet-Rē' and his court. We could picture how a rendezvous could have been set for the Nile banks just below Silsileh. As the date approached, the King and his courtiers would have sailed up river from Thebes and have moored their traveling boats to the river bank at the mouth of this little valley—Meket-Rē' among them in his dahabīyeh with a kitchen boat trailing on behind just as he is among the models in the Cairo and the Metropolitan Museums. On the bank where our tents were pitched the pavilion of the King, with gilded poles and bright-colored hangings, may have been set up to shade the royal throne. Meantime, scouts sent out along the Kūrkūr road would have met the returning caravan on the high desert plateau and guided them to the head of the Shaṭṭ er Rigāl and down it to the camp of the King. If so, then right where we lay, perhaps, Prince In-tef and Khety had made their obeisance and reported on the success of their expedition in the south while their followers spread out the tribute they had collected from

the barbarians. After that, all would have sailed in triumph down river to Thebes, leaving behind them only the Master Sculptor Woser-iner (who doubtless had been brought for this very purpose) to carve a suitable memorial of the King's presence, and obviously before they left each of the greater nobles had persuaded him to let his stone-cutters carve their names as well.

True enough, this picture is all guesswork, but it fits the facts as we saw them, and seems to offer the most logical explanation of the Shaṭṭer Rigāl sculptures of which I know. If it is true, it is amusing to think that Khety's next expedition up the river, two years later, went by water and not by desert.

In the spring of 1923, just at the end of the season, our men had uncovered the door of a tomb in the row where the grandees of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's court had been buried. Since it was directly above the court of the temple, next to the tomb of Khety the Chancellor, its position must have been regarded as enviable in its day, and having been completely buried under a landslide from the cliff above, it had clearly never been entered in modern times. However, hopes were blasted at the first glance into the dark interior, when it was seen that the place had been completely plundered ages ago, and had been left strewn with torn linen rags among which had been callously thrown a ghastly heap of robbed and mutilated bodies. There seemed very little likelihood that the thieves had left anything for us, and as our season was over anyway, we had sealed the tomb up again until some more favorable chance arose for the extremely disagreeable job of examining it carefully.

By the spring of 1926 we had finished every other tomb in the neighborhood. The one next west, and another directly below by the temple wall, had both turned out to be catacombs, each with a corridor which had been lengthened from time to time as little independent tombs had been tunneled off to either side. In the one by the temple wall we had found a piece of linen marked with the name of Queen Neferu, just as the linen found in her own tomb had been. As the Queen's tomb was some little distance away, it did not seem probable that this bit of linen could have strayed in here, and we came to the conclusion that these peculiar catacombs were intended for the dependents of the royal family and that one of them had been given, or had otherwise acquired, his or her linen from the Queen's linen chest.

The one hasty examination which we had made of the resealed tomb had shown that, so far as arrangement went, it was a third catacomb of the same type. That made then, two of these multiple burial places

in the row with the private tombs of such dignitaries as Khety, Meru, Ipi, and Ḥar-ḥotpe, and a third right by the temple wall, curiously suggestive of cheap apartment houses squeezed into a restricted residential neighborhood.

The month-long Mohammedan fast of Ramaḍān was upon us in March that year, and we had kept on only a small gang of men for just such jobs as this. The tomb was re-opened and all of its gruesome tenants brought outside while Hauser measured and planned the crypts and corridor within. Not a single object was discovered in the tomb and although about sixty bodies were in it, we found chips of no more than two or three cheap Eleventh Dynasty coffins. That the bodies were late seemed at first unquestionable. In the hot sun they were extraordinarily unpleasant—to put it mildly—and they had all the look of the dried-up corpses of Copts of whom many had been buried in the neighborhood. Still there was something not quite Coptic about the bandages, and the men were told to start early in the cool of the next morning, sorting out the linen which the thieves had ripped off of the bodies, to see if by any chance it was marked. It seemed unlikely, but to assure a conscientious search a bakshish was offered to any man who would discover a bit of inscription.

By seven o'clock next morning the men were down at the house with some thirty bits of marked linen, and by noon the number had been doubled. What we never expected had happened. Here were sixty-two absolutely typical examples of Eleventh Dynasty linen marks, with such familiar names as Amūny, Sebk-ḥotpe (pl. 21), Sebk-nakhte, In-tef, In-tef-oker, Mentu-ḥotpe and S'en-Wosret, and most striking—and also most numerous, for half of the marked bandages bore it—was a curious, enigmatic ideogram which we had already found on the bandages of 'Ashayet and the women of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's harīm. Furthermore, only a few weeks before, we had recognized the same mark on a chisel dropped by some stone-cutter in the catacomb tomb at the bottom of the hill, and we had concluded that it must have denoted property of the royal necropolis, or of its dead, in the reign of Neb-ḥepet-Rē. After all, then, the sixty corpses in the tomb were four thousand years old, preserved in that dry, hermetically sealed, underground corridor in an unbelievable way.

From the point of view of physical anthropology the find had attained an unexpected importance. Of all of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs that we had dug, nearly every one had been plundered, had been re-used in later times, and then been plundered again, until it was impossible, generally, to tell whether the bones which we found

in them were of the Eleventh Dynasty or later. The result was that we had obtained a disappointingly small amount of information on what physical manner of men had descended from Thebes about 2000 B.C., conquered Memphis, and started the second great period of Egyptian culture. Here, however, were sixty individuals definitely of the very race we wanted to know about, and an urgent telegram was sent off to Dr. Derry to come up from the medical school in Cairo to examine them.

As soon as Derry, Brewster, and I started in on our study, the first and most obvious thing which we remarked about these bodies was the simplicity in which they had been buried. As we had already seen, probably no more than two or three could have had coffins and in the crypts the rest must have been stacked up like cord-wood with no other covering than their linen wrappings. These last, where enough had been left by the thieves to judge, seem to have averaged no more than some twenty layers of sheets and bandages, which are less than one may expect to find on even a middle-class body of the period. As our examination went on, this same hurried cheapness became evident in the embalming—or perhaps more accurately lack of embalming, for at the most little could have been done to these bodies beyond a scouring off with sand, and we differed among ourselves even as to that.

The second striking point was the absolute similarity these bodies bore, one to another. So far as we could see, all of them had been buried under identical conditions and all at the same time. Moreover, all were men, and as Derry's examination proceeded they turned out to be remarkably vigorous men, every one in the prime of life. We found none who showed any signs of immaturity and only one whose hair was even streaked with gray. Another curious point was that there did not seem to have been a single shaven head among the lot. On the contrary, every one of these men had a thick mop of hair, bobbed off square at the nape of the neck as on the contemporary statuettes of soldiers from Assiūt. Sometimes it was curled and oiled in tight little ringlets all over the head.

However, it was broiling hot; Derry's time was short; and ahead of us lay a long unpleasant task. We were wasting no time on theories, therefore, and had methodically measured the first nine bodies when the tenth was put on the table and Brewster noticed an arrow-tip sticking out of its chest.

Physical anthropology immediately lost its interest, and another unexpected chapter was added to the story of the tomb. Up to that

time our work-tent had been a mere laboratory. From this moment onward it took on some of the gruesomeness of a field dressing station—only the front was four thousand years away.

Before we were done, we had identified a dozen arrow wounds and we felt certain that we had missed many others (pl. 19). So neat and small were they that they would easily pass unnoticed in the dried and shriveled skin except in those cases where some fragment of the arrow had been left in the bodies. Of head wounds we noted twenty-eight and again we felt that others were probably lost in the rough handling of the ancient thieves. But even so, we had seen two thirds as many wounds as there were bodies and we felt justified in concluding that every one of these sixty men had met a violent end. This seemed especially likely when we discovered that six of the bodies on which no wound was visible to us had been torn by vultures or ravens, and that could hardly have happened except on a battlefield.

Obviously what we had found was a soldiers' tomb. To judge from the cheapness of their burial perhaps only the three who had had coffins were more than soldiers of the rank and file, and yet they had been given a catacomb presumably prepared for dependents of the royal household, next to the tomb of the Chancellor Khety. Clearly that was an especial honor. If we were right in supposing that all had been buried at once, they must have been slain in a single battle. Considering the especial honor paid them it would follow that this fight must have been one which meant much to the King Neb-hepet-Rê. To us, unfortunately, lacking a single line of inscription from the tomb—for the linen marks tell us nothing beyond the date—it was only a nameless battle of the dim past.

And yet, without unduly stretching our imaginations, we can see how it was fought.

It was not a hand-to-hand encounter. We saw nothing that looked like dagger or spear stabs; none of the slashes which must have been inflicted by battleaxes, and no arms or collar bones smashed by clubs, as one might expect from fighting at close quarters. Many of the head wounds—for the moment we will omit a certain class of crushing blows on the left side of the skull—were small, depressed fractures in the forehead and face such as would be given by smallish missiles descending from above. From the same direction must have come several arrows which found their marks at the base of the neck and penetrated vertically downward through the chest, or one which entered the upper arm and passed down the whole length of the forearm to the wrist. Such would have been the wounds received by men

storming a castle wall, and with this clue to guide us we had only to turn to the contemporary pictures of sieges at Dēshāsheh and Beni Ḥasan. The defenders line the battlements armed with bows and arrows, with slings and with handfuls of stones. The attackers rush up to the walls with scaling ladders, or crouch beneath them with picks, endeavoring to sap the defenses under a rain of missiles falling on their heads and shoulders, only precariously protected by their companions' shields.

It must have been during an assault on a fortress, then, that our unknown soldiers fell, under a shower of sling-shots on heads protected by nothing but a mass of hair, or with lungs and heart pierced by arrows aimed at their uncovered shoulders. The fire had been too hot, and their fellows had scampered away out of range, but not without some of them being overtaken by the storm of arrows. One of them had been hit in the back just under the shoulder blade by an arrow which had transfixed his heart and projected some eight inches straight out in front of his chest. He had pitched forward, headlong on his face, breaking off the slender ebony arrow-tip in his fall, and the ragged end between his ribs was found by us all clotted with his blood. It was only after he was long dead that those who gathered up his body had broken off the reed shaft sticking out of his back, for that end had no trace of blood upon it.

With the attack beaten off there had followed the most barbarous part of an ancient battle. The monuments to Egyptian victories always show the king clubbing his captives in the presence of his god, and the battle pictures show the Egyptian soldiers searching out the enemy wounded to despatch them. Usually they grab the fallen by the hair and dragging them half upright, club or stab them, and as they swing their clubs with their right hands their blows fall upon the left sides of their victims' faces and heads. We recognized at least a dozen who had been mercilessly done to death in this way. One of the wounded had fallen unconscious from a sling-shot which had hit him over the eye; another had been stunned by an arrow which had all but penetrated one of the sutures of his skull; and a third probably lay helpless from loss of blood ebbing from the arteries in his arm torn by an arrow. None of those need have been fatal wounds, but evidently, as soon as the attackers had retired out of range, a party had made a sortie from the castle to mop up the battlefield, and when the last breathing being had been finished off, their bodies had been left lying beneath the walls to be worried and torn by the waiting vultures and ravens. The ghastly evidence of their work was plain enough to see

and the ancient pictures of the carrion birds devouring the slain were made only too real by these mangled corpses.

Unquestionably a second attack on the castle had been successful or these bodies never could have been recovered for burial in Thebes. Furthermore, the reed arrows with ebony tips used by the defenders show that the castle was in Egypt, and we know that no part of Egypt successfully resisted King Neb-ḥepet-Rē.

Of Theban bows and arrows we have found a great number. Every one of the great nobles had enough to equip a whole bodyguard, piled up in the crypt of his tomb, and of the lesser fry buried at the bottom of the hill each had his single bow and set of arrows beside him in his coffin. The bow was always of the long type with a twisted gut cord simply hitched around either tip. The arrow had a shaft of reed with three feathers, and a tip of ebony some eight or nine inches long, almost invariably pointed with a chisel edge of flint set in cement (pl. 20). Of the ebony arrow-tips used by the defenders of the castle, remarkably enough, not one had a flint point—and yet they had been driven as cleanly into a man's body as one drives a nail into a pine board. Perhaps, some day, we may discover whether there was any particular part of Egypt where it was usual to dispense with the flint points, and if so, we will be a long way toward knowing where this battle took place.

A solution to one, at least, of the minor problems of Egyptian archaeology came to us in an unexpected way that same winter. Terracotta cones, sometimes a foot long, are found all over the Theban necropolis. They turn up, scattered about the courts of all the Eleventh Dynasty tombs, and for the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the names of the dead were stamped on their bases, cones have been found for most of the known tombs. What they meant, however, had always been a question. They look like representations of the conical loaves of bread which we know were baked by the Egyptians, and many of us took it for granted that they had been put in the tomb courts as imitation food offerings, especially as in one case we had found them carefully stacked in a corner. On the other hand, Rhind, who dug in Thebes seventy-five years ago, has left a more or less passing mention of having found them stuck over the façade of a tomb and Davies, shrewder than many of us, recognized them in a frieze over the door in an ancient picture of a tomb.⁵ There the problem stood.

⁵ Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, p. 45, pl. XXI.

Naturally, the tops of the tomb façades are the first things to go and the last things to be buried, but that year we were lucky enough to find a tomb at the bottom of the hill which had been covered over completely thirty-four centuries ago under the avenue leading up to Ḥat-shepsūt's temple. The very first part of the tomb which we saw was the cones, set firmly in mortar above the façade in two rows, exactly as they had been placed by the Eleventh Dynasty tomb builders, and if we count in the fallen ones which we eventually found below, there cannot be any doubt that originally they made a frieze right across the top of the tomb (pl. 12). If we were to hazard another guess now as to what these cones represent, we might suggest that they are the ends of the poles or logs of the roof of an ancient Egyptian house—a far cry from loaves of bread.

Incidentally this tomb provided us with one of those blank disappointments that so often leave the digger flat. As soon as we found the top of the tomb buried as it was under Ḥat-shepsūt's embankment, we knew that, barring a tunnel from behind, no one could have been inside since the Eighteenth Dynasty. The head man saw the point as quickly as anybody, and drove his gang as the taskmasters of Pharaoh had driven the Chosen People. Down they went until they struck a neatly bricked-up doorway and that night they slept on the spot to guard their find. Early the following morning began the most orthodox ritual of archaeology. Deliberately we photographed the walled-up door; methodically we drew plans and sections in such detail that every brick could have been duplicated, and then most gingerly we took down the wall. The bricks themselves had shown us, by their size and their texture, that they were of the Eighteenth Dynasty and therefore we did not expect to find the Eleventh Dynasty tomb furniture intact, but we did have every right to expect a burial of Ḥat-shepsūt's time behind that well-built masonry.

And yet within there was nothing but a mess of broken bones and coffins kicked around in confusion in every direction. Far from protecting a hidden treasure, the careful blocking-up of that tomb door could only have been done with the purpose of stopping a few baskets of dirt from running inside and being lost when the avenue embankment was heaped up above.

However, a number of smaller antiquities had survived among these tombs at the bottom of the hill, wherever the thieves had been least thorough. More important, wherever the floods had been least destructive there was usually something, for many of the tombs on lower ground had served as catch basins for the torrential rains that

occasionally burst over the desert. Sometimes we found the grave-stone with the owner's portrait on it; sometimes his wife's little colored grass basket, just like those still sold in Aswān, or her boxes of alabaster perfume bottles (pl. 39). A wooden pillow would perhaps scarcely deserve mention, since they are so well known, if it had not been so remarkably preserved. At first thought it is hard to conceive of anybody sleeping with his head propped up on such a hard contraption, but so skilfully was this one shaped that it is really quite comfortable and, in the heat of an Egyptian summer, must have been much cooler than one of feathers. We tried it and found that it was not bad at all—provided you did not pinch your ear with it.

While we are on the toilet-sets and the pillows of the Eleventh Dynasty, it may be worth while to mention two little objects which shed other lights on contemporary Theban life, retrieved from the rubbish that had accumulated in our magazines during the clearing of the tombs of the nobles high up on the hillside.

With a little game-board (pl. 36) we get an echo of one of the crazes which civilized man takes up, goes through, and then drops forever. It is the story of mahjong four thousand years ago. Here we have a game suddenly appearing in Egypt at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. It was played into the Twelfth Dynasty and its peculiar little boards are found from Palestine as far east as Susa in just the same period. Then suddenly it disappears forever. The finest board ever found is the delightful ivory one discovered by Lord Carnarvon in a Twelfth Dynasty Theban tomb, and acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1926 with his collection. Perhaps the oldest is this one from our own excavations. That it had been a great favorite of its owner can be seen in the way the holes in which the pegs were moved have been worn out all along one side until a patch had to be put in to renew them.

Other distractions were provided for the ancient Theban noble by his dancing girls. A little faience figure of a tattooed dancing girl found in the tomb of Nefer-hotep was mentioned above.⁶ When we got a chance to clean and mend some sadly broken little figures from a nearby tomb we gained a further fact of unexpected interest (pl. 34). These figures obviously represent negro slave girls from far up the Nile, jet black and wearing strange skirts covered with barbarous designs in gaudy colors, and many colored beads around their foreheads and necks. Derry had already noticed that the features of the tattooed dancing girls buried in the Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple showed

⁶ See above, page 72.

marked Nubian traits and that Nubian blood had probably flowed through the veins even of such ladies of the king's harīm as ʿAshayet and Henhenit. Furthermore, the pictures of ʿAshayet on her sarcophagus gave her a rich chocolate Nubian complexion, and her companion Kemsit was painted on hers an actual ebony black, just like these little figures.

It is evident that from above Aswān must have come many a girl in Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿs palace and their dusky sisters have been beguiling Oriental potentates ever since. There was that mediaeval negress, Shagret ed Dūrr, "String of Pearls," who came out of a Mameluke harīm to defend Egypt successfully against the crusade of Saint Louis, and who made and murdered sultans to her heart's content, until she herself was finished off. More of our own day—and less romantic—was the little black-skinned concubine of the Khedive Ismaʿīl whom Verdi and Mariette were commanded to take as their inspiration for the heroine of "Aïda" when that opera was turned out to order for the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. That Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ should have had his "String of Pearls" and his "Aïda"—and that his nobles should have followed his example—would account for more than a trace of brunette complexion in the Theban aristocracy of four thousand years ago.

The burial crypt of Queen Neferu, the wife of King Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ, was one of our first interests in the autumn of 1925. As the north-east portico of the great temple at Deir el Baḥri was being rebuilt, deep under the first terrace we were busy restoring her burial crypt. Either because sandstone was of little use or because the crypt was so deep underground, no one had ever removed a single chip from the wreckage, and in 1925-26 it was possible to restore the entire chamber, sarcophagus and all. Raising large blocks of stone in a stuffy, narrow little space fifty yards underground and laying brick with a trowel in one hand and a candle in the other took time, but when the job was done the best of the Eleventh Dynasty burial crypts in Thebes was once more complete (pl. 13).

In the course of our excavations we had frequently run across the queer, wooden-looking Osiride statues of the King, scores of which once stood at rigid attention all the way along the avenue up to his temple. Every one which we have found has been headless, but we found a head which came close enough to fitting on a body to show what these statues had once been like (pl. 12). The fate of the Chancellor Khety's statues had been no luckier. There once had been numbers of wooden portraits of the Chancellor in his tomb, but today it is

only in mutilated fragments that we can see Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿs great courtier (pl. 36).

Another fragment of a life-sized, sandstone statue head has had a curious history. When we first discovered it we thought that we had found part of the head of another of the statues of Neb-ḥepet-Rēʿ, but long after we had taken it to the Museum in New York it dawned on us that what we had actually found was part of one of the statues of Amen-ḥotpe I of the Eighteenth Dynasty, made for the first shrine of the Ḥat-Ḥor cow at Deir el Baḥri.⁷

⁷ See below, page 81.

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At one time early in 1927 both of our head men had fevers and coughs which did not improve in the dust of the dig.¹ It looked as though another day would see both of them definitely sick and the only thing to do seemed to be to try to save one of them at least by finding him another job. The east wall of the Ḥat-shepsūt temple court was to windward and, as it had to be cleared, the Reis Ḥāmid Moḥammed was told to superintend the clearing of the fallen stones that covered it. Within the first few hours he had stumbled on a foundation deposit which gave us fairly definite information on the date when Ḥat-shepsūt founded the temple and the plan on which it was started.²

As soon as we began to clear it we found that it turned out to contain an unexpected feature in addition to the usual objects—96 of the most perfect green-glazed steatite scarabs imaginable. Since we now had a foundation deposit about nine yards from the northeast corner of the courtyard (cover, point I), it would seem reasonable to expect one at the same distance from the southeast corner. Fortunately, though, we put about twenty men to work over a fairly wide space, for the southeast deposit was directly under the corner of the court, and not where we had expected it (point G). This time we got 192 scarabs, every one as fine as those in the first lot. A trench was now dug along the entire wall and a third deposit unearthed at the north side of the gateway, with 11 more scarabs in it (point H). At this, the south side of the gateway was dug and redug throughout two days in a search for another deposit until finally, we had to admit that there never could have been one there.

In a way it was amusing to think how many of us in earlier years had missed these deposits with their scarabs. Naville cleared the temple gateway without seeing the one beside it. A trench dug by Lord Carnarvon missed the northern one by inches, and when we were digging the Neb-hepet-Rēḥ courtyard we were just as close to the southern one. But the lot of the tourists was even harder. Thousands of them had driven up to the temple, haggling for atrocious fake scarabs with a couple of aged ragamuffins who were far more ancient than the wares which they hawked. Just as many a bargain was concluded, the carriages had given one last, bone-shaking jolt, with the wheels bumping

¹ *Bulletin*, XXIII (1928), February, II, p. 24.

² Five deposits already found were described above, pages 89 and 107.

right into the gateway foundation deposit and its hoard of real scarabs only a foot or so below the surface.

Without much question this haul of scarabs was one of the most remarkable ever made. In beauty, and in charm, they were of the best lapidary work of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but it was their historical importance which struck us most forcibly. Of the 299 scarabs found in the three deposits, 153 gave one or the other of the full names and the sonorous titles of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt—"The Horus, 'Mighty of Souls'; the Favorite of the Two Goddesses, 'Fresh in Years'; the Golden Horus, 'Divine of Diadems'; Sovereign of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Beautiful God, Mistress of the Two Lands, 'Maḥet-ka-Rē'; beloved of Amūn; the King's Daughter, Divine Consort, Great Royal Wife, Princess of the Two Lands, 'Khneṣit-Amūn-Ḥat-shepsūt.' She lives eternally!" (pl. 43). Only one fifth as many—to be exact, 31—were scarabs of "The Beautiful God, Men-kheper-Rēḥ" (King Ṯut-mose III). Of the "King's Daughter, King's Sister, and Divine Consort, Neferu-Rēḥ" there were 18. The remaining 97 included 18 with invocations of Amūn, and 2 with the name of Ṯut-mose I—and 77 with mottoes or with ornamental designs.

If there ever had been any doubt that it was Ḥat-shepsūt who founded the temple it was dispelled by the proportion of her scarabs among those deposited on the founding day. Furthermore, we had indisputable evidence that she founded it in the reign of Ṯut-mose III—not in that of Ṯut-mose II—and before the death of her daughter Neferu-Rēḥ. Finally, the scarabs indicated a very early date in the reign of Ṯut-mose III, for thirteen of them spelt his prenomen "Men-kheper-en-Rēḥ" in the fashion current only during his first years on the throne.³

On this last point we could go still further with a bit of independent evidence. Covered, apparently, by the embankment of the temple avenue we found a piece of a jar which had once contained preserved food, labeled "Year 7, Third Month of Prōyet, 15th Day." Since the road to the temple site would probably have been the first thing constructed, the foundation ceremony could not have taken place before the 7th Year—of Ṯut-mose III, as the scarabs demonstrate. On the other hand, as preserved foods were probably not kept in mud-sealed jars for long, this jar had been thrown away and buried in the embankment soon after the 7th Year, just as we should expect from the early spelling of the name Men-kheper-en-Rēḥ.⁴

³ Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, p. 191.

⁴ Nearly ten years later this date was absolutely confirmed by Lansing and Hayes, *Bulletin*, XXXII (1937), January, II, p. 37.

So far we have arrived at the point of dating Ḥat-shepsūt's foundation of Deir el Baḥri to about the 7th Year of the reign of King Thutmose III, during the lifetime of Neferu-Rē. Now for the temple plan as it was first laid out.

When first Hauser surveyed these three new deposits and placed them on the plan of the temple as it had been built, they and the ones found in previous years had a most meaningless, haphazard look. On the plan A is the deposit found by Naville years ago; B is the one found by us in 1922; C, D, E, and F are those which we found in 1924,⁵ and G, H, and I, the new deposits. A, B, C, and G make an obvious southern boundary along the wall of the Neb-ḥepet-Rē courtyard, which, of course, was there when Ḥat-shepsūt's architect, Sen-Mūt, laid out her temple. Once this is seen, then F and I should mark the northern boundary and Hauser's plan showed that the line F-I was absolutely parallel to A-B-C-G. Hence it follows that Ḥat-shepsūt's north wall as built does not conform to the original plan of the foundation deposits, and this must of necessity be true of the whole temple which is oriented with it.

Furthermore, if the width of the court was to have been G-I (or C-F), another fact becomes evident. The two obvious ramp deposits D and E are south of the middle point between C and F. Here was a striking similarity to the curious Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple, of which the original plan had called for an enormous shield-shaped court (the hatched line in drawing inside cover) with an axis more nearly due east and west. This court plan had been changed when the direction of the avenue had been shifted to the southeast without, however, moving the actual site of the tomb mouth. Revolving the plan had dislocated the original symmetry of the scheme, bringing the temple ramp to the south of the axis of the court. Ḥat-shepsūt's foundation deposits demonstrated that this unsymmetrical feature had at first been blindly copied—so far as the temple itself and its forecourt went—by her architect, and a little elementary arithmetic sufficed to show that this copying had been mathematically exact. Furthermore, the solution of this problem developed a curious corollary. The measurements stand in a ratio of 5/7 to the corresponding measurements on the Neb-ḥepet-Rē temple—a ratio which would have been quite practical to the Egyptian with his unit of measure a cubit divided into seven palms.

In the light of these facts the history of the plan of Deir el Baḥri becomes fairly obvious. The change in the plan of the Neb-ḥepet-Rē

⁵ See above, page 89.

temple had left a large, triangular space to the north, walled in by an Eleventh Dynasty brick wall and vacant except for a little brick chapel built by Amen-hotpe I.⁶ When Ḥat-shepsūt and her architect, Sen-Mūt, planned to build a temple on the West of Thebes, the only imposing structure there was this temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rē, the first Theban king of all Egypt. Its plan was their logical model, and the space beside it an inviting site. Clearly their ambitions did not, at first, rise to the point of attempting anything as large as the temple of the founder of Thebes, and they decided to restrict their building to the available graded space, "stretching the cord" for a building (shown by the dot-and-dash line) which copied absolutely all of the features of their model at 5 palms to the cubit.

Such were the original plans and specifications. But architects have changed no more in the last thirty-five centuries than have the rest of mankind. Before Sen-Mūt was finished he had built a temple of which the actual structure, not counting its courtyard, covered over three times the area called for in his original plan—making its floor over double that of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple—and had altered nearly every feature except the general scheme of terraces with colonnaded porches.

From this point on, Sen-Mūt became a very living person to us.

At the time that the Ḥat-shepsūt foundation deposits were found, the main gang of workmen were digging about seventy-five yards east of the temple. We knew that the mound on which Cook's rest house stood at that time was an enormous dump made by Naville when the Egypt Exploration Fund cleared the temple about thirty years before, and we knew that it filled part of the ancient quarry from which Sen-Mūt had dug shale for the embankment of the temple avenue. East of the rest house the quarry still remained a deep, open hollow. Between the rest house and the temple there was a flat space of apparently natural desert.

With over five hundred men and boys at work we discovered in a very short time how deceptive that bit of natural-looking desert was. Before we had found solid bottom the men had gone down from twenty-five to thirty feet below the surface. The fact was that the west end of the quarry was a very short distance from the temple wall (pl. 46), but that it had been filled up in ancient times with brick and rubbish upon which the thunderstorms that burst now and then over the desert had washed mud and gravel until all trace of it had been totally obliterated.

⁶ See above, page 131.

It was trying digging. The depth of the hole made the work slow. Days passed without finding a single thing. Then the men would come up against sheer-cut rock and, thinking that they were getting near a tomb, the work would hum for one day, only to take a slump the next when they found that they were merely clearing another bay in the quarry face.

Many of the bricks which made up a large proportion of the rubbish filling the northern side of the quarry were stamped with the names of Amen-hotpe I and his mother Aḥ-mose Neferet-iry. Naturally they had been made for the little chapel which had stood at Deir el BaĦri before Ḥat-shepsūt's day, but a number of considerations eventually made it evident that after Sen-Mūt had cleared away the little chapel, his engineers had re-used the bricks from it to erect the ramps and scaffolds that they needed for raising heavy stones in the new temple. In the first place, among the bricks in the quarry we found no Ḥat-Ḥor votives, although it has been everyone's experience that such votives permeate every level at Deir el BaĦri which was exposed during the use of the Ḥat-Ḥor shrine.⁷ This brick dump, therefore, antedated the opening of the temple. Secondly, there were none of the sculptors' trial sketches of which we had found such quantities in other rubbish dumps.⁸ From this it would seem safe to conclude that the bricks had been dumped into the quarry before the sculptors had begun their work on the temple decoration. What we did find intimately mixed with these bricks were a number of ostraca of which three or four referred to Sen-Mūt. Two were fragments of wine jar labels of the Year 10 of Thut-mose III bearing Sen-Mūt's title and name, and another bore the caption "Year 16, First Month, 8th Day. Separating the servants of Sen-Mūt under two headings," followed by a list of people.

On the other hand, the decorations of the lower porches of the temple show the obelisks erected by Ḥat-shepsūt at Karnak in the 16th Year and, of course, could not have been carved before that date. The coincidence gave us a sufficiently striking confirmation of our conclusion that the bricks had been used in the builders' scaffolds, and dated the removal of the last of them, perhaps, and the beginning of part of the work of the sculptors to about the 16th Year.

Such facts were extremely interesting, but it was a question whether or not that hole would ever repay the heartbreaking job of emptying

⁷ See above, page 81.

⁸ See above, page 78.

it of broken bricks and rubbish. If we had not found so many objects at Deir el BaĦri which others had missed by inches, we would probably have given up the job instead of sticking to it, week after week, to the bitter end. And of course virtue was duly rewarded in the best Sunday School style or there would be no more to this narrative.

One evening the Reis Gilāni, who was in charge of that part of the work, had some story about the dirt having slipped down alongside of the quarry face under the feet of his men—but then he, like all the rest of us, had had lots of inspirations that had come to nothing. Still, a day or two later, two little brick walls were unearthed in that very spot, near the bottom of the quarry and pointing in toward the quarry face. There was no use getting too hopeful, but at the same time it seemed worth while to stick around that part of the work and to send home for an electric torch, preserving all the while as much of an air of indifference as it was possible to put on. The men, even, tried to assume the same air and seemed almost afraid to utter a single word that might change their luck, but the sweat with which they were dripping, their short sharp breathing, and the way they hurled the baskets of dirt up to the carrying boys gave them away. Then at last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, somebody's hoe started up a little puff of dust against the rock face, a stone rolled down out of sight, tinkling away into a dark hole which suddenly opened under foot—and we had found something in that quarry after all.

I stopped the digging and gently widened the little hole enough to get in my torch. Inside it was very dark. Carefully I took away a little more dirt and stuck my head in and waited for my eyes to get used to the blackness. My shoulders were inside of a narrow doorway. In front of me I could see steps, down which a few bits of brick and stone had rolled, descending into a gloom on which the torch made no impression at all (pl. 61). It was important to know what was ahead of us, so I had a little more dirt scraped away and crawled inside. Throwing the light under foot to make sure that I was not stepping on anything, I started slowly down. One thing, that only occurred to me afterwards, was how cool and fresh was the air which had last been breathed by any human being thirty-four centuries ago.

The one thing which was on my mind was to see what was in the darkness at the bottom of those steps, and down I went, but they seemed unending. After about forty-five or fifty yards there was an opening on my left. The torch showed a rough little empty chamber and the beam of light sparkled on a marvelous, eerie garden of pure white, feathery salt crystals growing up from the floor and hanging

in a tangle of long, curly hairs from the ceiling. From here on down to the bottom of the tomb they had grown everywhere in that deathly still air, until some of the fine pendent hairs had attained a length of nearly three feet (pl. 62).

A few more yards down the steps, and my torch was darting around a chamber about ten feet square, half filled with stone-cutters' chip. Before it had been piled there, however, all four walls had been minutely carved, and the light suddenly flashed on a sculptured panel beside the door. There, bowing in the conventional Egyptian salute before the cartouches of Ḥat-shepsūt, stood the somewhat mutilated figure of "The Prince and Count; the only mouth which speaks with silence" (in other words, the only one whose silence, even, is eloquent); "the Chief of the King's Dignitaries; the dearly beloved Companion; the Steward of Amūn, Sen-Mūt, triumphant; the true servant of his affection, doing that which meets with the approval of the Lord of the Two Lands" (pl. 64).

So this was the tomb of Sen-Mūt. Well, there was plainly nothing in this room except chips of stone, and the stairway went on below. Another climb down; another chip-filled chamber—but undecorated this time; a third stair so choked with chip that I had to crawl down it flashing the light ahead—and I had gone a hundred yards from the entrance, down stairs all the way, and was in a little vaulted room, at the end of the tomb.⁹ Nor had I seen a single thing except stone-cutters' chips, bits of workmen's torn shirts, and broken water jars and dishes. The place was unfinished. We had always suspected that Sen-Mūt had fallen into disgrace, and now it was plain that he had never even been allowed burial in the tomb that he was preparing when his fate overtook him. Still this was no place for cogitations. By this time the men at the top would be getting worried and there was that hundred yards of stairs to toil up again.

Toward the bottom of the first long stairway, two round-topped stelae were to have been let into the wall on either side. The niche for one had been carved and the rock had been smoothed off for the outline of the other. The finished surface of the creamy white stone had offered an irresistible temptation to one of the draughtsmen, and he had rapidly sketched in with his reed pen the head of his patron, labeling it "The Steward of Amūn, Sen-Mūt" (pl. 65). Undoubtedly he was a calligraphist, this draughtsman, and his style was strictly circumscribed by the limitations of penmanship. And yet, in spite

⁹ The length of the tomb from the top step outside, measured along the stairs, is 99.15 meters; on the horizontal projection on the plan it is 88.80 meters.

of all his conventions, he has been able to convince us that Sen-Mūt had a striking profile with his aquiline nose and his nervously expressive, wrinkled face. As for the wrinkles, they surely were the feature by which he was known. A crude little caricature, in a tomb above the temple, opened by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter some years before makes them Sen-Mūt's most prominent feature.

Only one chamber of the tomb had been carried to the point of being decorated and even that one had just left the sculptor's hands. On parts of the walls one can still see inspector's docket—*"Fourth Month of Akhet, 29th Day"*—written in black ink across each column of hieroglyphs at the point down to which the carving had been finished on that date (pl. 64). It would have been interesting if we could only have proved that the handwriting was that of the Superintendent of All the Royal Works, Sen-Mūt himself.

All four walls are closely and carefully carved with vertical columns of hieroglyphs setting forth chapters chosen from the Books of the Underworld, of the Gates, and of the Dead, the religious works which guided the soul in the life to come when it voyaged with the sun across the ocean of the night, penetrated the fearsome corridors of Hades, or cultivated the Elysian Fields. Opposite the doorway is the stela, conventionally conceived as the door through which the soul of Sen-Mūt might come forth. Hence we see him with his brothers and his wife drawn in a group outside of it; we see him seated in converse with his father and his mother through a window above, and for a third time, seated alone before his dinner inside the door at the top (pl. 65).

The real gem of the little room is its ceiling, however (pl. 66). We have the heavens mapped out above us in one of the best and one of the earliest astronomical charts yet found, drawn by the most skillful penmen of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. In the center of the northern half appears the bull-headed constellation "Meškhe-tiu"—our "Great Bear"—and the circumpolar star groups (pl. 67). Across the sky the twelve ancient monthly festivals are drawn, each as a circle with its round of twenty-four hours and, below, the celestial bodies of the northern sky pass in procession. Opposite, in the southern skies, Orion stubbornly turns his face away from the smiling Sothis, who chases after him, beckoning fruitlessly year after year (pl. 67). Above them, in turn, come the lists of the Decans with the name of Ḥat-shepsūt herself introduced among the heavenly beings. We have here an earlier and a finer celestial chart even than that in the tomb of King Seti, and one which no future study of Egyptian astronomy can neglect.

Long before we suspected the existence of the tomb, we had un-

earthed a little foundation deposit just above the western end of the quarry, without a single inscribed object in it. Shortly afterwards, another turned up a few yards away. Then a third was found on the southwest corner of the quarry edge and it began to look as though these deposits had been placed to mark off the western end of the quarry itself. This time there was an alabaster shell inscribed "The Beautiful God, Ma'et-ka-Rē' (Ḥat-shepsūt), given life, beloved of the God Montu, Lord of Thebes, the Bull which is in Hermonthis"—a curious dedication for a necropolis structure, which made us no wiser than we were before. Finally, just at the time of the discovery of the tomb of Sen-Mūt, two more identical deposits were unearthed in the floor of the quarry (pl. 60). In them there was another shell, inscribed "The Beautiful God, Ma'et-ka-Rē', given life, beloved of Montu, Lord of Hermonthis," and in addition a little alabaster saucer labeled "The Overseer of the Fields of Amūn, Sen-Mūt, devoted to Osiris."

Thus, these foundation deposits were for a tomb and they did mark off the western end of the quarry. Having found the tomb, we could see how Sen-Mūt—in full charge of the works at Deir el Baḥri—had "stretched the cord" all around the end of the quarry nearest the temple to stake out a claim for one of the best places in the neighborhood from which a tomb could be tunneled under the temple courtyard. As for the shells with their curious dedication to Montu, the god of Hermonthis, we know that Sen-Mūt was charged with work at Hermonthis as well as at Deir el Baḥri. If he had had a lot of foundation deposit objects made for, say, a tomb of the Sacred Bull of Montu, why should he not have saved what was left over for his own tomb at Thebes?

One thing which had made our discovery quite unexpected was the fact that for the last century a tomb of Sen-Mūt had been known, high up on Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh Hill a few hundred yards away from Deir el Baḥri. That was a perfectly normal Eighteenth Dynasty tomb to all appearances. It had its open, public chapel for the celebration of the services due the dead on every festival day, in contrast to this new one, which was obviously a secret burial-place, never to be visited, or even known of, by the public. In fact, this new tomb had a very striking similarity to the tomb of Ḥat-shepsūt herself in its plan, in the way that it tunneled toward the temple, and even in its secrecy—a comparatively new idea among the Egyptians at this time, adopted only by the kings, as far as we know.

Clearly Sen-Mūt's first intention was to be buried on the hillside among his contemporaries. His tomb there is the earlier of the two,

belonging to the lifetime of Neferu-Rē', while the new tomb was decorated, at any rate, only after her death. The idea of following Ḥat-shepsūt's example in having a secret burial crypt under her temple had come to him some time before the 16th Year, when the scaffold bricks were dumped into the north side of the quarry—for he never would have put his foundation deposits around a part of the quarry already filled with rubbish. In fact, work must have been started on the tomb by the 16th Year, because some of the chip from it seemed, perhaps, to have been buried under the dump. But if we get the impression that the tomb was started before the 16th Year, we will see that Sen-Mūt died about the 18th or 19th Year. If we could only verify such impressions we would know how rapidly the ancient stone-cutters could quarry out a corridor like this one, a hundred yards long.

Five years before, we had found broken statues of Ḥat-shepsūt in the large hole on the south side of the temple avenue, where they had been dumped when Thut-mose III decreed the destruction of every portrait of her in existence.¹⁰ We therefore expected to discover statues north of the avenue, and naturally it was very satisfying to find fragments as soon as we began to clear the north side of the road. Here, among the first pieces we turned up, were parts of a little kneeling granite statue which fitted to others found by us south of the avenue in 1922-23; and almost on top of the entrance to the tomb of Sen-Mūt, big sections of the colossal Osiride statues which had formed the pillars of the topmost porch of the temple. Among these last there was one head which had miraculously escaped damage during all of the rough handling it must have suffered when it was dismantled, transported from the temple, and rolled into the quarry (pl. 55).

This had brought us close to Naville's dump with the rest house upon it, and the next seventy-five yards of quarry were impossible to explore. The men were transferred, therefore, to the east of Naville's dump to clear the quarry edge where Lepsius must have found the fragments published by him. From the very foot of the dump for the next eighty yards or more we found a jumble of pieces of sculpture from the size of a finger-tip to others weighing a ton or more. There were large sections of the limestone colossi from the upper porch; brilliantly colored pieces from the ranks of sandstone sphinxes which had lined the avenue; the greater parts of several large granite sphinxes; and fragments of kneeling statues of the Queen in red and in black granite. One seated red granite statue about twice life-size,

¹⁰ See above, pages 77 and 91.

had been broken up on the spot and nearly all of its pieces were found lying together (pl. 57), but most of the other fragments had been widely scattered up and down the quarry.

The small statues which we found five years before had been buried so easily and quickly that no one had taken the trouble to mutilate them. Unfortunately, this was not the case with the colossi and the sphinxes of 1927. They could only have been dragged out to their burial-place slowly and laboriously and the workmen had plenty of opportunity to vent their spite on the brilliantly chiseled, smiling features. On the face of an exquisitely carved red granite statue a fire had been kindled to disintegrate the stone, and the features of the statue brought to the Museum have been battered entirely away and—as always—the uraeus on the forehead, the symbol of royalty, completely obliterated. Thut-mose III could have had no complaint to make on the execution of his orders for every conceivable indignity had been heaped on the likeness of the fallen Queen.

In one way, however, this ordered destruction has worked to our advantage. None of these statues could have been more than five or ten years old when they were broken up, and because they had had so short an exposure to the elements their colors were practically intact when they were buried. The paint on the limestone and sandstone fragments is as brilliant as when it was first applied, but it is on the hard stones that it is most interesting. In the nature of things, paint has usually disappeared entirely from granite temple sculpture but these sphinxes and statues show with unusual vividness how the Egyptian prized his hard stones and left their polished surfaces to be admired for their own sakes, picking out in paint only the details which needed emphasizing, such as the headdress, the eyes, and the jewelry.

For several years our excavations had been yielding facts on Ḥat-shepsūt's temple at Deir el Baḥri and on the career and personality of her architect, Sen-Mūt. Unfortunately, as told in most of the recent histories, the tale was given a plot of over-ingenious complexity into which such impressions of Deir el Baḥri as we had gained would have to be strained to fit, and some of the older histories, while they come nearer in their general lines to our experience, lack many a detail published in recent years. There is a tale worth retelling if only to present to the reader the facts developed by our excavations in a connected narrative. Disconnected as they were when made, these discoveries have been interesting, but when they are strung together with the previously known facts we begin to get some idea of the

intertwined stories of a remarkable woman and an able man, the echoes of which have not been hushed up entirely in spite of every effort on the part of their antagonist and the lapse of thirty-four centuries. Unless we slip unconsciously, we shall stick to the documents, all too meager though they are.¹¹ Where they fail, the reader's own imagination must be trusted to supply the lack.

When, about 1514 B.C., Thut-mose I "rested from life and went forth to heaven, having completed his years in gladness of heart," he was a bald old man with a white beard, who had ruled Egypt for at least a quarter of a century. Three of his children had already died—the eldest boy, Wadj-mose, at the very beginning of the reign and, during the years that followed, the second son, Amen-mose, and a daughter, Neferu-bīty. This last child at least, was born to him by the Great Royal Wife, Aḥ-mose, the eldest daughter of his predecessor, Amen-hotpe I. Aḥ-mose herself survived her husband, and with her another of her daughters, Ḥat-shepsūt, and a stepson Thut-mose, born to the king by one of Aḥ-mose's own younger sisters. The situation which King Thut-mose was leaving behind him was one which arose with surprising frequency in the Eighteenth Dynasty. His real heir—the Great Royal Wife's eldest surviving child—was a girl. But the duties of kingship could be performed only by a man, and the Egyptian way out of the difficulty was to marry the young Ḥat-shepsūt to her half-brother Prince Thut-mose, and to crown him King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

They were an ill-assorted couple to all appearances. The young King Thut-mose II was a youth of no more than twenty, physically frail and mentally far from energetic, who let the country run on of itself. Old officials who had started their careers in the days of his grandfather—and even of his great-grandfather—occupied their places throughout his reign, and it was his father's generals who suppressed a rebellion which broke out in Nubia. The Ḥat-shepsūt whom we come to know as time goes on, was in every way his opposite. In age she was probably not far removed from her husband's twenty

¹¹ Most of the documents are in Breasted's *Ancient Records*, II, and Sethe's *Urkunden*, IV. Important additional information is given in Gardiner and Peet, *Sinai*, and Elliot Smith, *Royal Mummies*. The two tombs of Ḥat-shepsūt are described by Carter in Theodore M. Davis, *Tomb of Hâtshepsût*, and in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1917. Mention is made below of two statues of Sen-Mūt in the British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, V, and of another in the Field Museum of Chicago, a description of which I owe to the kindness of Dr. T. George Allen. Still another turned up after this article first appeared, in the collection of George Pratt, and has been lent to the Metropolitan Museum by his widow. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. II, which appeared in 1928, adopted a story almost identical with that below.

years. In looks we have her own word for it that at this time "to look upon her was more beautiful than anything; her splendor and her form were divine; she was a maiden, beautiful and blooming"—and there is no reason to doubt her. She was probably as good a judge of her own charms as any of her sisters have been since mirrors were invented. If, in spite of this charm which she claims, and in spite of the strength of character which she undoubtedly possessed, from these years of her youth she has left no more of a name than did her young husband, it must be realized that so long as her mother lived, precedence was given to the Dowager Queen and to Ḥat-shepsūt was left only the duty of bearing children.

Two girls had been born to her—the elder Neferu-Rēʿ, and the younger, Meryet-Rēʿ Ḥat-shepsūt—and the young Pharaoh had scarcely more than turned his thirtieth year when, about 1501 B.C., "he went forth to heaven to mingle with the gods." Thus Ḥat-shepsūt found herself, in her turn, the mother of an infant heiress to the throne and the unquestioned head of the royal family before she was fairly on the threshold of middle age. And on her hands she had a question of succession exactly duplicating that which had arisen at the death of her own father. Iset, one of the concubines in the royal harīm, had borne a son, a third Thut-mose, still "a stripling, a youth in Amūn's temple, whose installation as prophet had not yet taken place," and it was this boy who was chosen to share the patrimony of his little half-sister Neferu-Rēʿ and "to stand in the place of his father as Lord of the Two Lands, having become ruler on the throne of the one who begat him."

Ostensibly the boy Thut-mose III was Pharaoh, but of right and custom the regency was in the hands of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt as long as he and his little consort Neferu-Rēʿ, were still infants and there was nothing whatever unusual—except perhaps in his frankness—when the courtier Ineny wrote that at the boy king's accession it was his father's "sister, the Divine Consort, Ḥat-shepsūt, who managed the affairs of the Two Lands according to her own devices. Egypt was made to labor with bowed head for her, the mistress of command, whose plans are excellent and who satisfies the Two Lands when she speaks." This was as it should be, and no objection could have been raised by the strictest legitimist. The calendar was dating the years from the accession of Thut-mose III, and actually Ḥat-shepsūt was claiming no more than had her ancestresses, Tety-shery, Aḥ-hotpe, and Aḥ-mose Neferet-iry, the first of whom had held a place second only to the king as late as her grandson's reign, and the other two in

the reigns of their sons. Ḥat-shepsūt, on the public monuments of the beginning of her stepson's reign, kept well within precedent and styled herself merely "The Divine Consort and Great Royal Wife" and was shown standing behind Thut-mose III just as her own mother had stood behind Thut-mose II. Even in the tomb which she made for herself at about this time her pretensions did not overstep any of the attributes which custom allowed her, for on her sarcophagus she was styled "The Great Princess favored with charm, Mistress of All Lands, Royal Daughter and Sister, Great Royal Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, Ḥat-shepsūt."

The old officers of government, some of whom had served the royal house from the days of its founder, Aḥ-mose I, acknowledged her position and lost nothing in doing so. Aḥ-mose Pe-n-Nekhbet recorded on the walls of his tomb at El Kab that Ḥat-shepsūt had "repeated honors to me. I reared her eldest daughter, the Princess Neferu-Rēʿ, while she was an infant in arms." Ineny enthusiastically wrote, "Her Majesty loved me. She recognized my worth at court and filled my house with silver and gold and all the beautiful materials of the royal palace." Tu-ro still retained his old post of commandant in Nubia and Pe-n-yaty was still in charge of the quarries at Gebel Silsileh.

None of the old men were ungratefully hustled out of the way perhaps, but the young Queen Regent saw to it that there were places near her for those of her own generation, and among them the Steward of Amūn, Sen-Mūt, striking-looking, energetic, able and ambitious, saw his chance to make a place for himself at the very outset of the new régime. "I was in this land under Ḥat-shepsūt's command from the moment of the death of her predecessor" (Thut-mose II), he wrote, having lost no time in getting into the favor of the queen who held the destiny of Egypt in her own very capable and—let us take her word for it—charming hands.

Without very much question Ḥat-shepsūt must have seen in Sen-Mūt a kindred soul. Her own future was wrapped up in the regency and it was from the moment of the establishment of the regency that Sen-Mūt dated his career. In fact, in that remarkable partnership that was to last for well over ten years, it would seem that one of Ḥat-shepsūt's first steps was to appoint Sen-Mūt "Chief Guardian of the King's Daughter, the Princess of the Two Lands, the Divine Consort, Neferu-Rēʿ," and together with that office she made him High Steward of her own household and of Neferu-Rēʿ' s, and probably Steward of the other infant daughter, Meryet-Rēʿ Ḥat-shepsūt, as well. This

was not far from making him a collaborator in the regency itself.

Of the antecedents of the new favorite we know little or nothing. His parents appear to have been of no great station in life—the Honorable Rē-mose and the Dame Ḥat-nufer—and of his three brothers, Sen-men alone rose to any sort of prominence and he, probably, only because Sen-Mūt made him his assistant in the management of the affairs of the little princesses. A second brother, Amen-em-ḥēt, was merely a priest on the Divine Barque of Amūn, and the third, Pa-iry, only a cattle overseer. Of wives he had two, one of whom was called Neferet-Ḥor. Incidentally, he seems to have had no children. At least in his later years he confided to his brother Amen-em-ḥēt those funeral services which would more appropriately have been performed by a son if he had had one. Priestly preferment could have played no more part in his rise than family influence for it is only in a perfunctory way that he mentions his unimposing places in the hierarchy—Prophet on the Divine Barque of Amūn and Chief Prophet in the comparatively unimportant temple of Montu in Hermonthis. Nor was he attracted by a military career in a singularly peaceful generation.

First and last, Sen-Mūt was an administrator, and probably it was in the administration of the vast estates of the temple of Karnak that he had started, for no matter how high he rose, he was always known as the Steward of Amūn. In time every detail in the management of the temple properties came under his control and as High Steward he was also Overseer of Amūn's Granaries, Storehouses, Fields, Gardens, Cattle, and Slaves, and Controller of the Hall of Amūn. Likewise he was Overseer of the Works of Amūn and, in time, Overseer of All of the Works of the King in the temple of Amūn as well. Once he was firmly established in Ḥat-shepsūt's favor we find him controlling the wealth of the royal family in the same detailed way. Starting as High Steward of the two queens, Ḥat-shepsūt and her little daughter Neferu-Rē, he became in time Controller, Overseer, and Overseer of Overseers of All of the Works of the King; Superintendent of the Royal Slaves, of the Treasury, of the Armory, and of the Red Crown Castle. With these offices Sen-Mūt held more intimate ones like those of the great nobles of France who were honored in being allowed to assist in the most intimate details of the royal toilet at the king's levees. Hence it came about that not only did he boast of being Governor of the Royal Palace, but he was Superintendent of the Private Apartments, of the Bathroom, and of the Royal Bedrooms as well.

At the turning points of a narrative like this, it is hard to avoid imputing motives on flimsy evidence and perhaps giving the characters in the story roles which they never filled in life. That is the case at this point especially.

While Sen-Mūt was adding one lucrative office to another in Karnak and in the Palace, Ḥat-shepsūt remained undisputed autocrat of Egypt. Actually, ever since her father's death she had been Mistress of the Two Lands, first with a colorless half-brother and now with her infant daughter and stepson. As long as these last two remained minors she was an absolute ruler in fact. Perhaps she felt that if due consideration were only given to her as the heiress of Thut-mose I she should be absolute ruler by right. The difference was merely in the name and style of kingship, but that was a right which custom rigidly withheld from women and which had been usurped by none since the time of that Queen Sebk-neferu who had lost the throne for the Twelfth Dynasty. Yet we find Ḥat-shepsūt about to take that very step and Sen-Mūt must have been a conniver, if not an actual instigator, for it is difficult to see how any such course could have been successful without the assistance of the High Steward; how any encroachment could have been made on the rights of the royal children without the agreement of Neferu-Rē's chief guardian; or how any monuments could have been erected in the temples of Amūn by a usurper who did not have the adherence of the Chief of Works. Sen-Mūt held all of these offices, and in the end it was on Sen-Mūt that the vengeance of Thut-mose first fell. He cannot, under such circumstances, escape the imputation of a share in the devious politics of his mistress. The only question is whether it was through infatuation for her that Sen-Mūt followed her in a course of her own designing, or whether through ambition for himself he was encouraging her to break with the customs of her people.

The tomb of Sen-Mūt's parents, to be found by Lansing and Hayes in the winter of 1936, was to fix the date of Ḥat-shepsūt's usurpation very closely. Between the middle of Prōyet I and the middle of Prōyet II in her seventh Year—or somewhere between January 15th and February 15th, 1494 B.C.—she had proclaimed herself "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt," and as such she was thereafter known. From our point of view it is difficult for us to see how mere extra trappings to a position which she already virtually held could have been so important to her. From an Oriental point of view they would seem utterly purposeless unless their seizure were followed up by the obliteration of her little stepson. But this last step she never took, and thenceforth Thut-mose III was left in obscure peace and his name still

given a perfunctory place on the monuments—but always after her own.

Ḥat-shepsūt was neither an Agrippina nor an Amazon. As far as we know, violence and bloodshed had no place in her make-up. Hers was a rule dominated by an architect, and the Ḥepu-sonbes, Neḥsys, and Ṭutys in her following were priests and administrators rather than soldiers. The one foreign expedition of which she has left a record was an entirely peaceful one, sent soon after her usurpation down the Red Sea to the Land of Pūnt. It returned in 1492 B.C. laden with the produce of the spice lands for the service of Amūn and exotic trees for his gardens in Karnak—all to come under the control of Amūn's High Steward and the Overseer of his Gardens, and Sen-Mūt was, appropriately enough, one of the three officials deputed to receive the expedition on its homecoming.

The characteristic opening which Ḥat-shepsūt and her confidant gave to this new phase of her career was an ambitious program of temple building, designed with an eye to political expediency. At Deir el Baḥri they planned everlasting propaganda in stone to justify the Queen's act. The body of Ṭut-mose I was to be moved from the burial-place which had been prepared for him by old Ineny, to a new tomb in the Valley of the Kings, in which one day the old king and the daughter who had succeeded him might lie side by side in twin sarcophagi.¹² Above, in two adjoining chapels in the new temple on the other side of the hill they were to be honored simultaneously. Furthermore, where every visitor to the temple might see it, a whole porch was to be devoted to the delineation of a miraculous and supernatural fiction purporting to show that Ḥat-shepsūt had been acknowledged as offspring and crowned as king by both her divine father Amūn and her mortal father Ṭut-mose, during the latter's lifetime. And since her father Amūn was to share the temple with Ḥat-shepsūt and her father Ṭut-mose, other porches were to be set aside to perpetuate the manner in which she had shown her filial piety to the god. The two episodes were her expedition to Pūnt in the 9th Year and the transport of her obelisks from Aswān in the 16th.

The digging of the new tomb for Ḥat-shepsūt and Ṭut-mose I was entrusted to Ḥepu-sonbe. The far more important work on the temple Sen-Mūt expressly states was his own. We have seen traces of Sen-

¹² The sarcophagus made for Ṭut-mose I in this tomb is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It was made a little too short for his coffin (which is not surprising considering that Ṭut-mose had been buried some score of years, and the dimensions of his coffin forgotten) and had to be altered when the mummy of Ṭut-mose was brought from his original tomb. Winlock, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1929, pp. 56-68.

Mūt working there in the 10th Year, and at some such period his boatswain, Neb-iry, must have dropped the whip which we found in 1923.¹³ Probably he was there in charge of a gang of sailors bringing Aswān granite for the doorways, because the limestone in the temple seems to have been from the neighboring hills and would not have come by ship. Finally we have seen how ambitiously the plan of the temple had been enlarged during the building and that it was not until the 16th Year, about 1485 B.C., that the engineers' scaffolds were removed and the decoration well under way.

Meantime the activities of the Chief of All of the Royal Works had covered most of Upper and Middle Egypt. He had already quarried obelisks at Aswān and sandstone at Gebel Silsileh. The necropolis landing stage opposite Karnak had been rebuilt at the time of the erection of the temple at Deir el Baḥri. The Middle Egyptian temples, which were still in ruins after the Hyksos invasion, were restored after the 9th Year and at the same time additions were being made to the great Karnak temple. There the Chief of Works accomplished a triumph of engineering. Two granite obelisks, each a single stone about a hundred feet long, were quarried at Aswān, transported over one hundred and fifty miles down river to Thebes, and set upright in Karnak, all within the short space of seven months. Further undertakings recorded by Sen-Mūt were in the Luxor temple, in the Mūt temple where a statue to him was erected, and at Hermonthis where he laid the foundations for a temple, or perhaps for a tomb of the Bull sacred to Montu, as we have already noted.

Our impression of Sen-Mūt's professional attainments is somewhat mixed, so far as Deir el Baḥri is concerned at least, and there only has his work survived to any great extent. Unquestionably, when it was completed the building was far more imposing than its Eleventh Dynasty model, and its plan had been adapted to fit its magnificent surroundings in a wholly masterful way. But whenever we have had occasion to examine its shoddy, jerry-built foundations we have had an unpleasant feeling of sham behind all this impressiveness which up to that time had not been especially characteristic of Egyptian architects.¹⁴ Possibly Sen-Mūt was a victim of necessity and speed was required of him—or perhaps there is some more venal explanation.

In any case Sen-Mūt does not seem to have lacked worldly goods himself at this time. He had built an expensive tomb high up on

¹³ See above, page 77.

¹⁴ See above, page 88.

Sheikh Abd el Ḳurneh hill. It was there that a century ago Athanasi found a granite statue of him holding the infant Neferu-Rē which is now in Berlin, and it would not be surprising to learn that two other statues like it in the British Museum had been unearthed there too. It was there also that Lepsius found Sen-Mūt's quartzite stela, of a design very much like the one in the tomb we found, and it is nearby that Davies saw chips of a quartzite sarcophagus bearing his name. All the statues from his tomb are stated to have been royal gifts to Sen-Mūt and the same claim appears on his statue from the temple of Mūt, now in Cairo, and on another, perhaps from Karnak, now in Chicago. But then, naturally, it would have been easy for the man in charge of all the royal works to obtain for himself some of the products of the royal workshops.

How Sen-Mūt hoped to be regarded by the populace he set forth in public view upon these statues. This estimate of himself, gathered together from several different sources, went somewhat in this manner:

"I was the greatest of the great in the whole land. I was the guardian of the secrets of the King in all his places; a privy councillor on the Sovereign's right hand, secure in favor and given audience alone; a lover of truth who showed no partiality; one to whom judges listened and whose very silence was eloquent. I was one upon whose utterances his Lord relied, with whose advice the Mistress of the Two Lands was satisfied, and the heart of the Divine Consort was completely filled. I was a noble to whom one hearkened, for I repeated the words of the King to the companions. I was one whose steps were known in the palace, a real confidant of the Ruler, entering in love and coming forth in favor, making glad the heart of the Sovereign every day. I was the one useful to the King, faithful to the God, and without blemish before the people. I was one to whom was given the inundation that I might control the Nile; one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands were confided. That which the South and the North contributed was under my seal and the labor of all countries was under my charge. And moreover I had access to all the writings of the prophets—there was nothing from the beginning of time which I did not know."

Admittedly most, if not all, of these ridiculously fulsome phrases are only the stereotyped forms of self-praise which had been used by many a worthy long before Sen-Mūt, but that in his case they were not entirely exaggerated and that Sen-Mūt was actually *one* of the greatest of the great in the whole land, is attested by a homely little potsherd found the previous year in the quarry (pl. 61).

On it a scribe has jotted down an account covering the first five

months of some year of the reign, to list items against "the Pharaoh" totaling 14; "the Estate of the Queen," 15; "the Treasurer," 19, and "Sen-Mūt," 19. Here are the four great powers of the land, and of them Sen-Mūt alone goes by his own name. To this scribe, Thutmose, Hat-shepsūt, and the Treasurer were merely institutions, but Sen-Mūt needed no titles to explain who he might be.

To what extent Sen-Mūt's boldness had grown we had a hint in 1926 when we noticed how he had ordered his portrait introduced behind every door in the temple of Deir el Baḥri,¹⁵ and now this past season we find him tunneling right under the temple enclosure to make a new tomb for himself, suggestively like Hat-shepsūt's own. And he had gone even further. Down the middle of the ceiling of the decorated chamber in this new tomb he had caused to be written in fine bold hieroglyphics: "Long live the Horus, 'Mighty of Souls'; the Favorite of the Two Goddesses, 'Fresh in Years'; the Golden Horus, 'Divine of Diadems'; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Ma'et-ka-Rē', beloved of Amūn, who lives, and the Chancellor, the Steward of Amūn, Sen-Mūt, begotten by Rē-mose and born of Hat-nufer." So written, without either break or qualifying phrases, this linking together of Sen-Mūt's name with Hat-shepsūt's would surely have made interesting reading to any partisan of Thutmose who might have seen it.

At this point in the story we sadly lack the diary of some Eighteenth Dynasty Pepys or Creevey, for surely in the court gossip of the day we should hear some rumor of all not going quite so well with the High Steward of Amūn as he might pretend. His ward, the Divine Consort Neferu-Rē, had died and with her he had lost his earliest and, perhaps still, one of his strongest holds on fortune. She had been alive, of course, at the laying of the foundations of Deir el Baḥri in the 7th Year, and still living in the 11th Year, as we know from an inscription at the mines in Sinai. She was alive at the time when Sen-Mūt built his first tomb and set up the statues now in Berlin, London, and Chicago. She had even survived until the sanctuary at Deir el Baḥri was sculptured, but she never appears in the decorations of the rest of the temple, begun about the 16th Year, nor does Sen-Mūt any longer claim to be her guardian in his new tomb of about the same date, or on his statue in Cairo. In fact, when next we hear of a consort of Thutmose III, it is the younger sister, Meryet-Rē Hat-shepsūt, who is the Great Royal Wife and the mother to the heir of the throne.

¹⁵ See above, page 105.

Moreover, if Neferu-Rē^c was gone and Sen-Mūt's guardianship terminated, equally a thing of the past was the boyhood and youth of Thut-mose. He had grown up a short, stocky young man full of a fiery Napoleonic energy, suppressed up to now but soon to cause the whole known world to smart. Long since he should have been sole ruler of Egypt but for Ḥat-shepsūt, and we hardly have to stretch our imaginations unduly to picture the bitterness of such a man against those who had deprived him of his rights, or to see the danger in which Sen-Mūt now found himself.

The last definite date in the career of Sen-Mūt is that of the ostrakon which we found in 1926, written about the middle of the 16th Year of the reign. If we assume that another year or so passed before the decorations of Deir el BaĦri were finished and the last of the doors were hung, behind which he hid his portraits, we may suppose that he survived until the 18th Year—about 1483 B.C. If he was in charge of Ḥat-shepsūt's last works at Karnak, then he was alive in the 19th Year. But scarcely any longer could he have escaped the impatience of Thut-mose to see an end of him. That he fell, in any case, before his mistress is one of the interesting new facts to be gathered from the tomb which we found this year. In it his portraits are mutilated, while her names are still granted due respect.

The exact circumstances of Sen-Mūt's taking off will have to be still another of the details left to the reader's imagination. The monuments are absolutely silent upon it—but we can construct some outline of the sequel to the tale.

As soon as news arrived of the end of the Great Steward orders were given to close up his presumptuous new tomb. The job was done as quickly as possible. Workmen went down to the decorated chamber and smashed the faces of Sen-Mūt wherever they noticed them and in passing even scratched the sketch in the corridor. They had no time to search out Sen-Mut's name in the inscriptions—or perhaps none of them could read—and they did not dare to mutilate the cartouches of the still powerful Ḥat-shepsūt. Hastily gathering together bricks and stones at the mouth of the tomb, they started to wall it up, but the work did not go fast enough and before they had finished their wall they gave it up and raked down dirt just enough to cover over the doorway. So the tomb stood for the next four or five years. The sun blazed on the rock above the buried doorway and one of the sudden thunderstorms of the desert flooded mud down over it, until the rock took on a yellowish tint that showed us quite distinctly the line of this first burying of the tomb (pl. 61).

Meantime, life at the court in Thebes must have been feverish. If we suppose that Thut-mose had done away with Sen-Mūt, we may take it for granted that he did not stop there. Doubtless, as he saw his chance he knocked out from under Ḥat-shepsūt one prop after another—Hepu-sonbe, Neḥsy, Thūty, and Sen-Mūt's brother Senmen. The names of all of them and of others have been erased everywhere. Of Ḥat-shepsūt herself we have a monument of the 20th Year, and then at the end of the 22nd Year we find Thut-mose free at last, sole ruler of Egypt, at the head of his armies, making his first campaign in Syria. The chronicle used by Manetho seems to have given to her 21 years and 9 months of rule from the death of her brother, and since that agrees perfectly with our other information, we may date Ḥat-shepsūt's death in the latter part of January, 1479 B.C.

Once more Deir el BaĦri rang with the sound of chisels and mallets. Some whip other than Neb-iry's cracked over the backs of slaves, and the statues, still bright in the first freshness of their paint, were hauled back, down the avenue. This time they were to be broken up and dumped over the roadside into the quarry, and it was not without its appropriateness that some of Ḥat-shepsūt's portraits should have been rolled in on top of the empty tomb of Sen-Mūt and buried with it, deep under heaped-up rubbish.

Note: In the plan of the Ḥat-shepsūt temple used as an end paper of this volume there should be made the following additions to the foundation deposits mentioned above. J-K are two deposits found by Howard Carter, digging for Lord Carnarvon in 1910 and mentioned in *Five Years Explorations*, pp. 4 and 30. L-M, which correspond to A-B on the northern side of the temple platform as originally conceived, and N under a proposed sanctuary are approximately the positions of three more deposits now lost. In the summer of 1930 Harold Nelson of the Chicago Expedition bought a lot of Ḥat-shepsūt foundation deposit material which might have come from any of these points. He generously gave me a chance to buy in whole or in part, any of the objects, and I acquired a scarab now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 31.4.3. I believe that it is quite possible that the Arabs from whom Nelson bought his material did not make their find at Deir el BaĦri but at the Valley Temple, or from a resting place of the Barque of Amūn half way up the causeway.

SEASON OF 1927-1928

By the winter of 1927-28 our main interest at Deir el Baḥri was in the statues we were finding of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt.¹ Whenever we told the tale of their destruction we could see complacent little smiles flickering around the corners of our hearers' mouths at what they seemed pleased to consider the childishness of the ancient Egyptian. Perhaps it was not altogether fair to bring up the vicissitudes of the statue of Charles I at the head of Whitehall in London—sold for junk by Parliament under the Commonwealth and bought by an individual who was astute enough to keep it intact until he could sell it back to Charles II at the Restoration. More nearly in modern times, and more in the spirit of the successor of Ḥat-shepsūt, was the affair of the statue of George III in Bowling Green in New York. Not only was it torn down on the night of July 9, 1776, but to add injury to insult in a way to have delighted the heart of an ancient Egyptian, the lead of which it was made was cast into bullets to shoot at King George's soldiers. Still nearer our own day was the case of the name of "Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War," chiseled off the Washington aqueduct when he became President of the Confederacy. That was, I believe, as official an act of the Federal Government as the erasures in Deir el Baḥri were of King Thut-mose III. And finally, even during the war of 1914-18 the names of everything from Hamburger steaks to royal families were altered in a fervent desire to suppress memories of the enemy, and it was nothing short of a triumph of emotional suppression when the authorities in Washington merely took the statue of Frederick the Great from the terrace of the War College and put it down cellar, instead of converting it into brass shell fuses. Perhaps we are getting a little tamer than Thut-mose III—but we can hardly pretend yet that his actions are entirely incomprehensible to us when we find him destroying the statues of his mother-in-law.

The ancient quarry at Deir el Baḥri in which the statues of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt were found is a very irregularly shaped depression some three hundred meters long from east to west, paralleling the avenue which leads up from the cultivated fields to the temple, and its depth, as far as we could see from the excavations of 1926-27, was six or seven meters. The roadway itself was an embankment five meters high just like a railroad fill, and what we have called a "quarry" would be, in railroad parlance, the burrow-pit alongside from which

¹ *Bulletin*, XXIII (1928), December, II, p. 3.

the material was dug to make up the grading to the proper height.

Our discovery of the cache of broken statues at Deir el Baḥri promised to be of prime importance to the Museum. All were of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt but in that very fact would lie a certain interest. Deir el Baḥri temple had been planned by one man, the architect Sen-Mūt, and it had been built in one operation with its sculpture an integral part of its design. Even if we could not recover all we stood an excellent chance of finding a large part and thus of being able to reconstruct Sen-Mūt's scheme in its entirety. Furthermore, even if those statues which we might find should be broken, many breaks would be clean and easily repaired. Again, thanks to their having been buried while they were still new, many of these statues would still retain their coloring, comparatively fresh. And finally, the most noticeable gap in the Museum's Egyptian collection is in the colossal temple sculpture, so characteristic of Egyptian art. With a chance here to fill this gap from our own work, there was no question in our minds as to what should be the object of our excavations in the season of 1927-28.

When Naville began to clear the temple of Deir el Baḥri in 1893 the deep burrow-pit was a tempting place to dump the rubbish from his excavations, and he cut a gap through the temple wall, ran his light railway down to the steep side of the depression, and discharged his cars into the hollow without, however, taking any trouble to see what he might be burying. In this way he had disposed of over fifty thousand cubic meters—nearly 1,800,000 cubic feet—of dirt which had covered the great temple, and when his excavations were finally finished his dump was a platform some seventy-five meters square and nine meters high, filling the quarry from side to side. For Cook's Rest House, which was built just after the Naville excavations were finished, it had been an excellent location.

The fact that the Rest House covered something we called first to the attention of the Chief Inspector of the Service des Antiquités, Tewfik Effendi Boulos, and afterwards to that of M. Pierre Lacau, the Directeur Général, and both of them showed a most helpful interest. They discovered that the Rest House had been built with the understanding that Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son were to occupy the site only so long as the Egyptian Government agreed, and would vacate it on demand. The occasion seemed to justify such a demand, and the Cairo managers of Cook and Son acceded to it with the utmost willingness. We, on our part, cleared a site for a new Rest House some little distance to the east, and at the end of the 1926-27 season all

arrangements were made for Cook's to put up a new building and vacate the site of the old one before our season began on November 1, 1927—an arrangement which was adhered to by Cook's most punctiliously.

We had to explore the eighty meters or so covered by Naville's dump, and a layer of natural, drifted sand on the quarry floor less than two meters thick judging from its ends already dug. For disposal we had the deep eastern half of the quarry explored in previous years, which meant a maximum carry of about two hundred meters. Therefore we laid our tracks so as to give us six, or even eight rail-heads at the face of the work and arranged the men so that there could be two levels of diggers. Then we recruited a gang of seven hundred men and boys, and in a short time a count of cars going by a given point showed the dirt to be moving at the rate of eight hundred cubic meters a day—an output that was kept up steadily for eight weeks.

The lay of the ground was such that we could put our rails about on the level of the bottom of Naville's dump and we drove through it from east to west, laying rails as we went until we came out on the open space in front of Sen-Mūt's tomb, which had been dug the year before. Then we faced the men around toward the east and started back, digging through the natural, drifted material underneath, taking up our rails again as the men worked under them. And immediately we found an unexpected factor ruining our estimates.

As has just been noted, our excavations in 1926-27 on each side of Naville's dump had shown little more than a meter or two of wind- and water-deposited sand under it, and we had supposed that once we had cleared the dump away we would be almost on the bottom of the quarry. However, as we dug eastward the quarry floor fell rapidly, until it had finally attained a depth of seven meters below what we had expected and our men had to be arranged in four levels at a time. Not only did this add another nine or ten thousand cubic meters to our task—and all of that to be carried up hill to the cars—but in the hollow we found ourselves in a catch basin filled with water-logged sand which had become cemented together into a tough, tenacious mass that made most laborious digging.

But it was not only that the work was hard. It was much more expensive than we had had any reason to anticipate, and we saw our appropriation dwindling. We could scarcely say that the bottom had dropped out of the quarry, but it had surely fallen a long way and we were literally in a hole from every point of view. In fact, it would

have been an impossible situation if it had not been for the generous promise given us by Edward S. Harkness that he would come to our rescue if we were faced with the necessity of shutting down. Economies made it just possible to finish the work without calling on him, but we would scarcely have dared to go ahead without his backing.

To our financial difficulties was added another entirely peculiar to the East. We had opened our camp early in November and had our gang recruited up to full strength before the end of the month. Ahead of us we had three months of working season and then on February 23rd would begin Ramaḍān, the Muslim month of fasting, when with the hot days already setting in we would be unable to get satisfactory work out of men who were forbidden either to eat or drink between sunrise and sunset. We had planned to get the actual excavations done before Ramaḍān but the deep hole in the quarry made difficulties for us. The fast began before we had attained our object and we had to postpone the finishing of it until late in March. As it was, the actual digging ran well into April and when we closed the camp on the first of May we had already seen the thermometer at 110° in the shade.

In the meantime, in spite of the discouragements due to the slowing up of the digging, our work was justifying itself in a most satisfactory way. As soon as we got below Naville's dump we began to find fragments of sculpture and, at the very end of March, we found in the eastern end of the hole a pile of fragments of sculpture which had come cascading over the edge when the workmen of Thut-mose III had rolled them down the side of the avenue embankment. Unfortunately the rains of centuries had drained in here and had stood stagnant over the brightly painted stones. The last thunderstorm in Thebes was ten years before and yet, when we came to dig it out, we found this corner still water-logged. Under such circumstances, naturally, everything of limestone was destroyed—and by far the greater part of the pile consisted of broken-up limestone Osiride statues—but luckily granite had suffered very little from the damp.

The task of piecing together the fragments turned out to be long. Imagine nearly a hundred jigsaw puzzles, every one of them lacking some parts and most of them with little or next to nothing left, all mixed up together. Picture some of the pieces no bigger than the tip of your finger and others so heavy that it took a large derrick to move them (pl. 47). Then consider that the edges of these pieces were often so delicate that they crumbled away unless they were handled with the most delicate care—even when they weighed a ton

or more. That will give you some idea of the work that was going on at our camp at Thebes for five seasons altogether before we could be satisfied that we had made the most out of our find.

Some of the statues had been widely scattered. A case in point was one of the little kneeling statues of the type found in 1922-23.² A part found at that time fitted another piece found three hundred yards or more away by the tomb of Sen-Mūt in 1926-27, and in turn fitted a piece found in 1927-28. On the other hand, many statues were broken up at the quarry and the fragments were hardly scattered at all. This was the case of the seated statue found in 1926-27 and of the two standing statues found the following year (pl. 51).

The latter must have been brought out of the temple almost intact. We found the place on the edge of the quarry where they had been broken up before we found the statues themselves down below, and among the granite chips gathered up on the quarry edge we eventually identified the nose and the uraeus from one of the two statues when we came to set them together. One of the large kneeling statues had probably been decapitated at the temple, because in 1926-27 we found a bit of its head-dress just outside of the temple court (pl. 52). The head had been carried from the temple down into the sink-hole in the quarry floor, while the body had been left on the quarry edge just above it, at the spot where we found one of the hands. When we discovered the body it was buried in the water-washed sand above the sink-hole. Lying with it were some sandstone column drums which had every look of being Roman. Calculating from the level which the statue body occupied in the sand we decided that it could not have arrived where we found it before the Ptolemaic Period and our calculation was verified in the end by the discovery of a late-dynastic burial under it. From these circumstances we concluded that this statue must have remained visible until Graeco-Roman times and then have been rolled downhill to a convenient place to break it up into millstones. A fire had been built on it—we found charcoal all around it—and when it was heated cold water had been thrown over it to crack it up.

The amount of destruction to which the original wreckers of Thutmose III had subjected Ḥat-shepsūt's portraits varied a good deal. Always the uraeus—the symbol of kingship—was battered away. Sometimes the eyes were pecked out and the nose knocked off so that the statue could neither see nor breathe. Occasionally, with a smaller

² See above, page 77.

statue, they were content merely to break the head off without bothering to damage the features at all. On the whole the damage is not so disfiguring as it might have been. The two standing statues could be reassembled almost entire except for their bases. One of the colossal kneeling statues lacks only the base and the two hands and the wreckers had built a fire on it which had left its face in a very precarious state. This statue is now in Cairo.

In one respect the mutilation and the burial of these statues have actually worked for their preservation. The wrecking of the temple of Deir el Baḥri took place within a very few years of its completion. If, as it seems to us, it followed immediately after the death of Ḥat-shepsūt these statues were not more than five years old at the time of their removal. They had not been exposed long enough to the elements to become weather-beaten, and their early burial served in many cases to preserve their paint almost intact. We are able, therefore, to appreciate exactly what the Egyptian felt was the proper function of color in statuary. We see common limestone and sandstone completely painted so that nowhere is the material left visible. We see the hard, marble-like limestone and the black and red granites valued for their own natural textures and colors, with paint applied only sparingly and then only to emphasize certain features. Sometimes only the eyes were accented (pls. 52-3). In another case not only were the eyes painted but the band of the headkerchief was picked out in golden yellow (pl. 57). In still another, the eyes, the beard, and the kerchief were brilliantly colored, while the body was left in the rich red tone of the polished stone (pl. 49).

Now and then we have found heads which can be taken without much question as being feminine, while other statues are uncompromisingly masculine. The explanation lies in Ḥat-shepsūt's ambiguous position. A woman could not be sovereign of Egypt, and if she attempted to usurp the position she must hide her sex from posterity even if she could not hide it from her contemporaries. It is a commonplace to the student of Egyptian history, therefore, that Ḥat-shepsūt was represented as a king. Furthermore, there is absolutely no evidence that any sculpture was ever thrown into this quarry except from the temple of Deir el Baḥri at the time when Ḥat-shepsūt's portraits were destroyed. Therefore it has become axiomatic with us that all sculpture found in the quarry, whether inscribed or not, represents her either naturalistically in female guise or conventionally as a king.

When the visitor to the temple in the days of the great Queen had

passed through the gateway at the end of the avenue, he found his way across the wide forecourt to the lower stairway between a row of gigantic sphinxes of painted sandstone on each hand. We found tons of fragments of such sphinxes, and we know of one head that was taken to Berlin by Lepsius in 1845.

From the lower court the visitor ascended the broad stair to the second court, and there, actually within the temple, he found his path lined on either side with sphinxes of more costly red granite from Aswān. The head of one was found by us, another was taken to Berlin by Lepsius, and probably the head of at least one more, and the bodies of four still exist. In all there were at least six.

In front of the visitor now rose the second stairway, leading to the top terrace, where in a sort of vestibule with the columns widely spaced, there would have been room for a standing statue on each side. Here, probably, stood the pair of standing red granite statues found in 1927-28—obvious pendants, with even their inscriptions arranged to balance each other symmetrically.

Passing through the gateway, the visitor now found himself in an open court entirely surrounded by columns and here, we believe, knelt the colossal red and black granite statues (pl. 52).

We have been ascending a way laid out by Ḥat-shepsūt for her patron, the god Amūn. Yearly, at the Feast of the Valley, his statue was to have been brought across the river from the temple of Karnak and borne in his divine barque on the shoulders of his priests up into the sanctuary at the top of Deir el Baḥri there to pass a night in the dwelling prepared for him by his daughter, the Queen. Within the sanctuary the walls are decorated with pictures of his barque at rest with Ḥat-shepsūt kneeling before it and presenting to it little round pots of offerings. Her pose in these decorations is almost exactly duplicated by the kneeling statues and even the little round pots were in their hands. Therefore it is natural to see in these statues a representation of Ḥat-shepsūt making the sanctuary offerings, but the narrow sanctuary chamber would never have held eight such figures, each 2.65 meters high. Hence it is that we would place them in the courtyard outside the sanctuary where they were intended to kneel century after century, on each side of the path traversed by Amūn at his Feast of the Valley.

Elsewhere, throughout the temple, the portraits of the founder were on every hand. We are reasonably certain that there were at least twelve of the little kneeling statues³ and they could have come

³ See above, page 77.

from the spaces between the columns of some one of the numerous porches, perhaps in the peristyle court or the hypostyles in front of the Ḥat-Ḥor shrine. We know of at least five seated statues: one of red granite which is nearly twice life-size; a smaller, white, marble-like statue parts of which were taken to Berlin by Lepsius; a red granite statue just about life-size, of which the head was found in 1927-28; and two smaller ones of black granite. One of these probably stood before the stela in the offering hall of Ḥat-shepsūt. Finally a sandstone statue of Ḥat-shepsūt suckled by her nurse may be placed appropriately in the Ḥat-Ḥor shrine.⁴

So much for the free-standing statues of the temple. There is in addition another class of statue, of limestone, which was originally an integral part of the masonry of the building itself.

Deir el Baḥri temple was not only a shrine of the god Amūn; it was in addition intended as the temple where the dead Ḥat-shepsūt would receive her provisions for eternity. Dead, she was one with the god Osiris and hence it was appropriate that she should appear in Osirian guise as a mummy. Eight of the smallest of these statues, a little over three meters high, must have come from the tall niches in the wall at the west side of the upper court on each side of the sanctuary door. Some of them have the White Crown of Upper Egypt, and therefore must have come from the south niches, and others have the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, and must have come from the north. Osiride statues about five meters tall stood attached to square pillars across the topmost portico—the caryatids holding up the porches and gazing at Thebes across the river. Four heads which are a little larger belonged to four statues of which we have found fragments. We have evidence to prove that these four statues came from this same topmost porch, one on each end of the colonnades and one on each side of the central doorway.

Finally we have found fragments of two gigantic limestone Osiride statues which stood about 7.25 meters high. During the previous season we had found two blocks that made up the calves, one block from the thighs and one from the elbows of one, buried outside the northeast corner of the court. In the quarry we discovered the waist and shoulders, and not far off we had found fragments of the faces of them. One wore the crown of the North and the other that of the South, and therefore we knew that they were pendants.

Just beyond the north end of the north lower porch there is a large

⁴ See below, page 211.

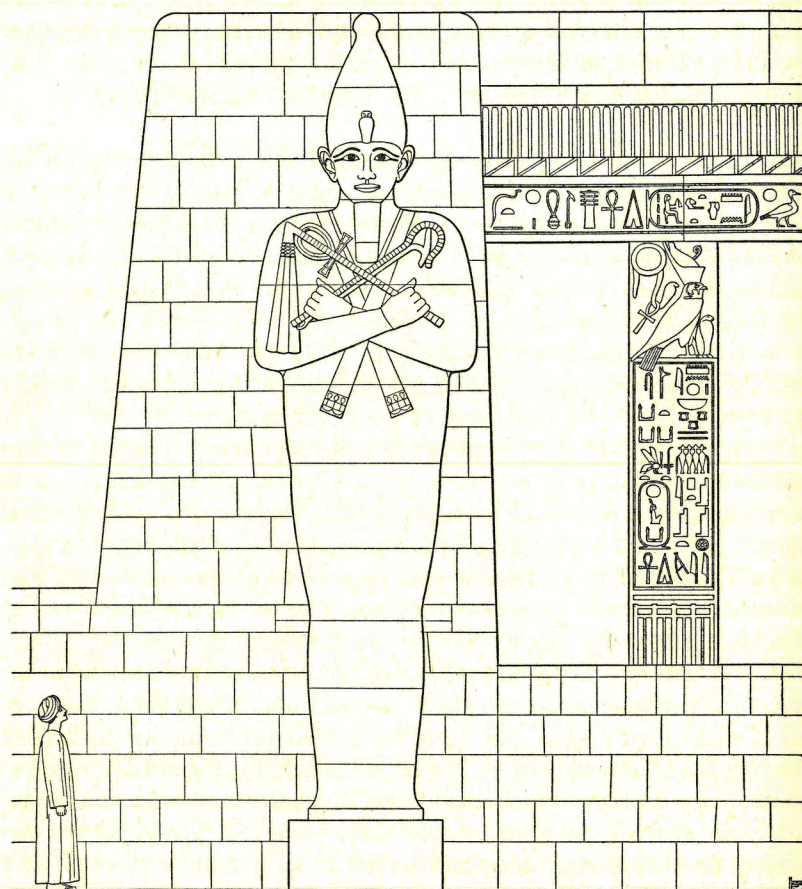


FIG. 9. RESTORATION OF THE SOUTH END OF THE EAST PORTICO AT DEIR EL BAḤRĪ
SCALE 1:70

projecting block of stone in the first course of masonry. In the Naville restoration this was taken as the foundation of a square buttress—for which there was neither structural nor architectural need. In the corresponding place to the south of the south porch we found traces which showed that such a block had existed there at one time, and high above it, still embedded in the wall, there was a large block which had once been part of some feature projecting from the façade. These two elements remained a mystery until we were aware of the existence of the two colossal Osiride statues. Then, a careful examination of the south wall showed the almost obliterated marks made in the erection

of a statue at that place, and in the end we were actually able to demonstrate that the very blocks which we had identified as the legs of one of these statues had once stood against this wall (fig. 9).

The two courses which made up the calves of the statue that we had found, were seventy and sixty centimeters thick and on the wall were marks at intervals of seventy and sixty centimeters. Next above them came the block still embedded in the wall, seventy centimeters thick and exactly the width missing above the knees of our statue. Above that we had the rest of the statue almost entire. We lacked, then, only the feet and the pedestal, but the exact height at which the calves were to be placed left us no uncertainty as to the dimensions of these missing parts. We were then in a position not only to draw the statue as it once looked but actually to request the Services des Antiquités to re-erect it, and to supply the missing parts in new stonework where necessary (pl. 54).

As long as the work had been merely the clearing of Naville's great dump the dig had needed very little attention. Ḥāmid Moḥammed and Gilāni Suleymān, with twenty-two years each in the service of the Museum's Expedition, made a very good pair of boss workers, quite capable of managing the work with the minimum of supervision. We ourselves had an unending task which would have discouraged even Sisyphus, condemned to roll the same rock uphill eternally, only to see it slide down again each time he neared the top. Our task was clearing out of our storerooms at the end of each season the antiquities which there was no time to deal with, or which it was preferable to hold over in the hope that another season would bring to light their missing parts or their hidden meanings.

One of our biggest tasks in 1927-28 was on the pottery found the year before in the tombs along the bottom of the hill. Thieves had been ahead of us in every one, and not content with making off with what seemed to them of value, they had taken a mischievous glee in smashing up the pottery which had contained the food provided for the dead. In every tomb we had gathered up hundreds of fragments which had to be laboriously fitted together, drawn, noted, and photographed. The work, however, was not without its reward (pl. 40). We retrieved an unusual type of bowl with a peculiar pillar in the middle, presenting an interesting little problem in the daily life of the ancient Theban. It has been suggested, for instance, that the pillar was contrived to support the middle of a sieve of cloth while straining something like curds or buttermilk. We also were able to see with our own eyes the jars for home-brewed ale with their tall, black clay stoppers

just as they are represented in the Middle Kingdom models and tomb paintings. In front of one tomb there had been a pile of broken cups and dishes, numerous enough to have set out a large banquet. Many of them were made of the fine-grained, whitish clay dug just north of Thebes near Ballās and Ḳēna where the ḳullehs are still made for drinking water. One bowl with indented sides had seven spouts. Others were merely hemispherical cups for which little separate stands were provided, making a goblet in two pieces.

Of much later date is a wooden stela, found during the war years of 1914–20. On it we see “the Scribe of the Treasury, Yuf-en-Mūt” offering to the hawk-headed “Ḥarakhte, the Great God, Lord of Heaven.” Above him is the Sun in its barque and on each side of the picture the symbols of East and West. Yuf-en-Mūt probably died in the Twenty-second Dynasty about 900 B.C., and some years after he was buried another pit was dug in the same tomb for “the Doorkeeper of the Temple of Amūn, Pe-khor-en-Khonsu.” The debris of his funerary equipment yielded a little statue of the god Ptaḥ-Sokar-Osiris as well as fragments of his coffins (pl. 93). On one of the last there is a sketch of Pe-khor-en-Khonsu himself, drawn crudely enough and very much with the usual conventions, and yet with a certain vitality and realism that make it a convincing likeness. Perhaps it would be hard to say whether we should call it a caricature or a portrait, but in any event we can scarcely doubt that Pe-khor-en-Khonsu was a fat old Egyptian peasant with pendulous paunch and flabby chest, his bumpy old head clean-shaven, and his beady, rheumy old eyes peering out of a wrinkled face. His was that type of old fellāḥ that one sees still in the Upper Egyptian villages, for whom age has no mellowing influence and in whom comfortable living fails to mitigate an innate avariciousness. Pe-khor-en-Khonsu would have been a hard one in a bargain.

The broom in his hand we may take as a badge of office. It always appears in the hand of the hieroglyphic sign for “doorkeeper” but usually so small as to be unrecognizable. Just such a besom was found in a nearby tomb—a bundle of coarse grass tied together at the roots and all frayed out at the end where it had been used to brush up the floors. There was a ceremony which closed every service in a temple sanctuary, as well as that last and most final ritual when a body was laid in its burial vault in the tomb—the brushing away of the footprints before closing the door. Evil spirits might follow in footsteps left on sanctuary or tomb floor when the door was closed, and to wipe all such traces away was a most important duty of the Doorkeeper of

the temple of Amūn and for that reason the broom was his badge.

There was another Egyptian funerary custom that we have had occasion to refer to more than once. After the body had been embalmed and wrapped in its bandages by the undertakers, all of the embalming materials which were left over were gathered up and packed in jars which were carried to the necropolis and buried somewhere near, but never actually in the tomb.

When we were digging in the Deir el Baḥrī quarry, we found that the western end of it had begun to drift up with windblown sand as soon as the quarrymen had abandoned it. In the course of time a bank of sand several feet thick had accumulated in a semicircle around the end of the quarry nearest the temple, and as we dug into it we found numbers of large, round-bellied jars, stoppered with mud, buried in rows in this sand-drift (pl. 93). When we came to open them each jar was found to be filled with bundles of natron or of sawdust, with soiled rags, with broken cups which had contained oil, and frequently, with the sweepings of the floors of the embalmers' shops. These sweepings were far from pleasant, even in retrospect, but they gave us some very obvious clues as to the underlying idea in this custom. The Egyptian undertaker was a careless and venal workman and if a person wanted to be sure that the whole of his mortal coil attained a safe burial, it was as well that even the sweepings of the embalming shop floor should be gathered up.

We had in our storeroom several similar sets of pots from previous years and for days our time was taken up entirely with examining and recording the contents of some two hundred such jars, and the baskets and hampers buried with them. Years ago we had found a wooden table which had been used for the embalming of the Vizīr Ipi of the Eleventh Dynasty.⁶ In 1927–28 we had to deal with several mats which still bore the stains of the aromatic oils used in such a process. These mats were just the size of the sleeping mats of the modern peasants and in one case we found a very much crushed, but still recognizable, wicker bed on which some old Theban worthy had been laid out.

The most puzzling find from these jars must surely have been swept into one of them entirely by accident. It could have had nothing to do with an undertaker's profession as far as we could see. In the floor sweepings in one pot there was a little roll of papyrus wound loosely with thread and when we came to unroll it we found that it was made

⁶ See above, page 55.

up of eight cards of papyrus each from four to five centimeters square. On four were drawn water lilies and on four lily pads. They looked like parts of a game, but their meaning is to us an unsolved puzzle (pl. 94).

The jars themselves were of several different shapes and often showed signs of having seen hard use before they arrived in the hands of the undertakers. One at least had been used originally for pickled fish and three others bore labels written in ink which showed that one of them had contained wine and another had been used to carry offerings to a temple.

As for the date of these jars, they were obviously later than the quarry. We had hoped to arrive at some idea of the period when they were buried by measuring the depth at which they lay in the drift sand and then assuming that the sand had accumulated at a uniform rate during the 3,385 years between the abandonment of the quarry in the time of Ḥat-shepsūt and its filling by Naville. But we always had the uncertainty of the depth of the trenches dug for the jars and our calculations led us to no safer conclusion than that they may have been as late as the Ptolemaic Period. Nearer the temple we had found very similar pots buried on top of a collapsed tomb of about the period of Yuf-en-Mūt (900 B.C.), and others which seemed to be connected with pits of the Saïte Period (about 600 B.C.). Our date, so far, seemed to lie between 600 and 300 B.C.

That was as close as the field data would carry us, but we were fortunate in having two more lines of investigation. Three amphorae were found to be inscribed and photographs of the inscriptions were forwarded to Professor Wilhelm Spiegelberg, then in Munich. He very kindly replied that so far as could be judged from the hieratic handwriting, the jars might be of the Persian Period (525-332 B.C.) and that one which had a short label in Phoenician was, in the opinion of Professor Lidzbarski, of about the same date. Finally, on my return to New York I discovered that the type of peg-shaped amphora which was inscribed in Phoenician had already been found in Cyprus and that the Museum possessed examples in the Cesnola Collection, also inscribed in Phoenician. Myres had dated these last between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C.⁷ By going as far afield as Phoenicia and Cyprus, we had arrived at a corroboration of our field data.

Probably just about the time that the pots were being buried, or a little later, some thief who had made a haul in a house in a nearby

⁷ Myres, *Cesnola Collection*, nos. 1826-1828.

village was looking for a hiding-place for his loot (pl. 95), and lit upon the sand drift in the quarry. He had a cook pot incrustated with soot outside and not so well scoured inside but that there were still some traces of the last dish for which it had been used. He had one of the massive bronze anklets which women of the Meroitic Period affected, and which were so heavy that a rag had to be worn under them to keep them from chafing the wearer's ankles. And he had two curious bent metal tubes, one of iron and the other of bronze. When the latter was brought to New York and cleaned by Dr. Fink it turned out to have a sieve on one end and was obviously a siphon for sucking beer out of a deep jar.

To finish clearing away what still remained of Naville's debris and to explore the rest of the quarry was the task on which we spent the first part of the 1928-29 season.¹ Meantime, while the men were digging, we went back to the slow, laborious grind of sorting out and fitting together the fragments of statues found during the previous years. We had to teach ourselves the difference in color and texture between two blocks of red granite from the same quarry, we had to carry in our minds the anatomy of sphinxes and the patterns of ancient kilts and head-dresses, and above all we had to get over our surprise at seeing fragments of one and the same statue turning up in several different and most unexpected places.

As our work progressed we began to realize that Thut-mose III was not alone to blame for the state in which we found Ḥat-shepsūt's portraits. Many an ancient necropolis workman, looking for a bit of hard stone to make into a sledge hammer or a flour grinder, had rummaged around among the broken fragments in the quarry before they were completely buried, and had gone off with what was handiest for his purpose. Two hundred yards away from the work on the Neb-hepet-Rē causeway we unearthed pieces of our sphinxes and statues that had been used as mauls. Another gang, three times as far off, at the tomb of Nefer-hotep on the Khokheh, turned up others, and when we went to reexamine the stones which we had left among the ruins of the tomb of Nesy-pe-ka-shuty three hundred yards up the hill, above the quarry, we found parts of two of our kneeling statues.² Finally, Mr. Emery brought to light from Robert Mond's old store-rooms the hand of another, apparently found before the war on the slopes of Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh over six hundred yards south of Deir el Baḥri.

Nor, remarkable as it may seem, is the Theban necropolis the only place where we have found fragments of statues from the Deir el Baḥri quarry. In 1827, Sir Gardiner Wilkinson made an extraordinarily careful and valuable survey of ancient Thebes. He saw and recorded on his map "granite androsphinxes and limestone columns of old style" along the side of the avenue leading to Deir el Baḥri, and recognized them as being "at least coeval with the founder of this structure."³ In 1838, Nestor l'Hôte sketched the lower half of a seated

¹ *Bulletin*, XXIV (1929), November, II, p. 3.

² See above, page 160.

³ Wilkinson, *Map of the Theban Necropolis*; and *Topography of Thebes*, p. 98.

statue of Ḥat-shepsūt "sur la droite de l'Assassif dans un fond"—our quarry. "A côté sont des fragments de statues cariatides et de sphinx en granit."⁴ His sketch is perfectly recognizable as the lower half of a statue acquired by Lepsius a few years later. Lepsius was directing the great Prussian Expedition in Thebes between 1843 and 1845, and while there he purchased antiquities for the Berlin Museum from the local Greek consul—a certain Triantophyllos called the Khawāga Werdi by the Arabs. Among other things Lepsius procured the half of the statue already seen by Nestor l'Hôte together with the torso which belonged with it; a large granite head wearing the crown of Upper Egypt; and the head of a granite sphinx. He was shown where these pieces came from—it was the east end of our quarry—and he there saw and copied the inscription on a fragment of granite which we have since replaced in the back of a large kneeling statue now in Cairo.⁵ Apparently no more fragments of statues of Ḥat-shepsūt turned up during the next twenty-five years. Then in 1869 the Suez Canal was opened with elaborate ceremony in the presence of official representatives of all the European governments. The Netherlands had sent Prince Henry, the High Admiral of the Fleet, and he appears to have made a trip up the Nile, and from this trip to have brought back to Holland as souvenirs two fragments of ancient statuary. One of these was a red granite torso of Ḥat-shepsūt, which was mentioned by Pleyte in an article written three or four years later, and of which a cast was presented to the museum at Turin at about the same time.⁶

Of the pieces taken to Europe the first one to arouse our interest was the white limestone statue drawn by Nestor l'Hôte and afterwards procured by Lepsius for Berlin. In the season of 1926-27, while clearing that section of the quarry from which the Lepsius fragments had come, we had unearthed part of the head of a statue of hard, marble-like limestone. Shortly afterwards we had turned up other fragments, apparently from the same statue. In the season of 1927-28, digging about a hundred yards farther west, we had found the face and were in possession of what was probably the most beau-

⁴ I had a copy of Nestor l'Hôte's sketch made by Hauser from MSS 20396, 83 Fr. Nouv. Acq., Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁵ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, pp. 101 and 102. The statue has been in the Cairo Museum since 1929. The pieces procured by Lepsius for Berlin appear in the *Denkmäler*, III, pl. 25, and in the Berlin *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, pp. 112 and 113, nos. 2279, 2299-2301, and 2306.

⁶ Pleyte, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 45; Fabretti, etc., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, p. 110, no. 1406.

tiful portrait of the Queen in existence. It was then that we remembered the Berlin statue. The descriptions which we had of it stated that it lacked the head, had other less important restorations, and was made of a limestone which appeared to be like that of our fragments. I wrote, therefore, to Dr. Heinrich Schäfer, Director of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the State Museums in Berlin, asking for a more detailed description of his statue and also for sketches.

We could not have dreamed of a more satisfactory reply than Dr. Schäfer's. The material of the Berlin statue was identical with that of our head. The head and neck, parts of the arms, and the back corners of the throne were missing in Berlin and those were the very things which we had found. In several places the outlines of the breaks as shown on the sketches of the Berlin statue were perfectly recognizable on our fragments. But best of all, we had no part which was not lacking in Berlin. In other words, there was no likelihood of there having been two similar statues of the same material, as we had feared might be the case.

This discovery opened up an entirely new line of investigation. If we could complete one of the Lepsius statues, we might be able to complete the others, and so I laid my plans to return to Egypt by way of Berlin where I could look personally at the remaining pieces.

That the granite sphinx head in Berlin belonged to one of the sphinx bodies found by us was probable—but to which body it belonged no one could say without seeing it. Once I was in Berlin, though, a single glance was enough to settle that point. Lepsius had brought home the head of the smallest of the granite sphinxes, and we had found the body of it.⁷ The scale, the breaks (so far as I could see them under the modern restorations), and above all the peculiar texture of the stone made it a certainty.

The unexpected came, however, with the head wearing the crown of Upper Egypt. We had the tip of such a crown and it belonged to the head. The shape of the break made that clear. The crown tip, and probably the head as well, had been found in that part of the quarry from which all of the other Lepsius fragments came, and in that same place we had found fragments of a large kneeling statue made of exactly the same pinkish, large-grained granite as the head. The base of that kneeling statue had always been puzzling because it was much lower than the bases of the other statues of the same series. However,

⁷ See above, page 160. The complete sphinx was 290 cm. long and 130 cm. high.

if this head with its high crown were placed on the body with the low base, the total height of the restored statue would be about the same as the other statues of the same lot with their low head-dresses and high bases. I left Berlin with very little doubt that I had seen the head of our kneeling statue, and that very little doubt evaporated when we discovered that we had fragments on our work of a pendent kneeling statue wearing the crown of Lower Egypt.

Dr. Schäfer, deeply interested and highly appreciative of our work on these statues, supplied me with photographs of the Berlin fragments. Soon after returning to Egypt, we took pictures of ours as nearly as possible from the same points of view and with the same lighting. When we reduced the photographs of the heads to the same scales as those of the bodies and joined them together, any last doubt that the Berlin heads belonged on the bodies which we had found was gone (pl. 49).

To go back now to the fragment which had been taken to Holland by Prince Henry. It had been described as the torso of a woman and right away here was something to go on. Almost without exception the statues of Ḥat-shepsūt represent her as a "king." So general is this rule that when we had found a head of feminine appearance, we had immediately put it with the fragments of the lower half of a seated statue clad in a woman's skirt, especially as both were of a very striking red granite with large dark grains. We lacked the torso to complete our statue and since Prince Henry had taken a female torso to Holland, it might be exactly what we wanted.

Pleyte had apparently seen it in Leyden and the Turin catalogue stated that it had been presented to the Leyden Museum, and yet it did not appear in the Leyden catalogue. My investigations were thus brought to a standstill and I wrote to Dr. W. D. van Wijngaarden, the Conservator of the Egyptian Section of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leyden, to enlist his help in running the torso down. Dr. van Wijngaarden's inquiries took most of the summer, but his clues eventually led him to the Palace of Soestdijk near Utrecht, where the missing torso had lain forgotten for over fifty years disguised with a painted plaster head. He sent me news of this find and I stopped in Holland on my way to Berlin.

The very day that I arrived in Leyden the Dutch newspapers were announcing "A Royal Gift to the State" over a photograph of the torso from Soestdijk, just presented by the Queen Mother to the Rijksmuseum, and when I called on Dr. van Wijngaarden in the museum there was the missing part of our statue in Deir el Baḥri.

The material was right; the size was right; and above all the breaks at the neck and elbows were exactly right. And, to clinch the matter finally, Dr. van Wijngaarden had brought from the Palace of Soestdijk a "Note pour Son Altesse Royale le Prince Henri des Pays Bas" which described the torso as "trouvée à Thebes dans la Plaine entre Der-el-Bahri et le Temple de Koorna"—a documentary evidence that it had been found in our quarry. Dr. van Wijngaarden very kindly had a cast of the torso made and sent to us in Egypt, and with it we were able to reconstruct our statue (pl. 57).

The most satisfactory part of this whole phase of our work was the interest and coöperation of our archaeological colleagues. When the case was explained to M. Lacau, he arranged that those pieces which belonged with others already in Europe should be assigned to us with the understanding that we should endeavor to make such exchanges as would be necessary to reunite these scattered statues.

Meantime, bit by bit other pieces of statuary were growing up under our derrick. A second granite sphinx could be completed, all but the front legs (pl. 49). The stone is of a deep, rich red, highly polished; the head-dress still preserves traces of blue and yellow stripes; and the blue paint on the beard is almost as bright as new. This sphinx—145 centimeters high and when complete 350 centimeters long—is now in the Cairo Museum.

Two little limestone sphinxes, pigmies beside their gigantic granite brothers,⁸ are in some ways the most interesting of the temple sculptures (pl. 48). Unlike almost all other Egyptian sphinxes, except the famous ones from Tanis, not only their bodies but their heads as well are leonine with human faces framed in the locks of their lion's manes. They once made a pair, but now unfortunately one is only a sad wreck. As far as we can see, there were no others of this type except these two, and their original places were a puzzle.

Sphinxes in Eighteenth Dynasty architecture line the sides of avenues, and we had accordingly suggested that the large granite and sandstone sphinxes of Ḥat-shepsūt lined the way across the two lower courts of Deir el BaĦri.⁹ Sphinxes also decorated the newel posts at the tops of stairs leading to thrones, sometimes balancing seated lions on the bottom posts.¹⁰ Some years before we had discovered one of the bottom newel posts of the lower stairway of Deir

⁸ Length, 108 cm., and height 62 cm. The better is now in the Cairo Museum.

⁹ See above, page 159.

¹⁰ In the tomb of Su-rer, no. 48 in Thebes, of the reign of Amen-hotpe III.

el BaĦri with a seated lion carved upon it.¹¹ Since then we had been making studies for the reconstruction of the top newel posts which joined the balustrades of the stairway with the parapets over the porches, and apparently they must have been just about the right size to take the bases of these two little sphinxes. If the two sphinxes were placed on these posts, flanking the top of the stairway on either side, the entire way from the entrance of the temple, across the first court, up the first stair, and across the second court would have been lined with lions and lionlike sphinxes.

One interesting point was resulting as we accumulated these portraits of Ḥat-shepsūt in hard stones. As one turns over the illustrations in our reports, the limitations of Egyptian portraiture become obvious. Were the same name not engraved upon all of these statues, it would never be supposed that all represented one and the same person. Here and there one may suspect the hand of the same sculptor, but rarely the features of the same sitter. A granite sphinx now in Cairo and a kneeling statue in the same museum are probably the work of one man—a sculptor who was painstaking in his selection and finish of the hardest and richest of stones, but whose smiling faces carry no conviction of reality. His work has no resemblance to that of that other sculptor who carved the head of the sphinx in Berlin with its meager, high-boned cheeks, narrow, slanting eyes, and firm mouth. The two standing statues are perhaps the work of still a third carver who has approached more nearly to the features of a kneeling statue in New York. All of these last three portraits are very broad across the eyes and narrow in the chins, with long, slender, finely modeled noses, and perhaps in these features they come close to the truth. But as long as all of them are disguised, and even distorted, by their weird, unnatural beards they cannot be accepted as convincing likenesses. It is only when we come to the feminine statues that we can feel the likelihood of seeing Ḥat-shepsūt as she really may have been (pls. 57-8). One would like to picture her as in the second of these two heads, and perhaps of all the existing portraits it is actually the best. Surely it occupied a prominent place in the temple and obviously it is the work of a master sophisticated enough to attain remarkable beauty with the simplest means. Perhaps, too, he had equal skill in catching and idealizing a likeness.

By the middle of January we had finished our search for statue fragments in the quarry and our workmen were gradually clearing the

¹¹ See above, page 106.

deep deposits of rubbish lying on the hillside north of Ḥat-shepsūt's temple. Hayes, in connection with the texts in the tomb of Sen-Mūt found a couple of years before, had copied the inscriptions carved by Sen-Mūt behind the doors in Deir el Baḥri.¹² Incidentally, among these last there were two which stated that it was with Ḥat-shepsūt's permission that Sen-Mūt had placed memorials of himself within the temple.

We had, however, another reason for being interested in that hillside.¹³ On it we had noticed two chip heaps, weathered during centuries and almost hidden by drifted sand and by fallen rock. We could see that the chip was shale from the lowest strata of the cliff and that it lay much higher up the slope than any natural agency could have carried it. Of course it was possible that we were dealing with heaps of shale dug out in leveling the temple courts below, but it was hard to see why the quarry chip from there should have been carried so far uphill—and across a ravine, at that. On the other hand it was equally possible that what we had were heaps of chip from the tunneling of some undiscovered tomb or tombs in the shale strata, and it was on this that we pinned our hopes.

The hillside had never been seriously explored. We had always postponed digging it until we should have cleared room for a dump to the eastward. A few years before our time Lord Carnarvon had left it after excavating a part of the priests' houses and making a few soundings along the top of the slope, just under the cliff. Naville had started to dig just outside of the temple wall—we had an old photograph showing some of his men working there—but he soon abandoned the place and covered the lower part of the slope with one of his inevitable dumps.

The gang of workmen were started at the foot of the hill, one half of them clearing the slope up to the cliff on the north, and the other half working along the bottom facing west, just outside the north wall of the temple. These last men soon found themselves crowded into a little natural ravine, cut across at the bottom by the temple wall. Above, it was choked with rubbish thrown out from the temple in the Eighteenth Dynasty; with more water-washed sand pitted with shallow graves of the Roman Period; and finally with debris from Naville's clearing of the temple. In fact the ravine had almost disappeared and its rocky sides only emerged slowly under the picks of

¹² See above, page 105.

¹³ The following pages and part of the next report cover material more fully described in Winlock, *The Tomb of Meryet-Amūn*.

our men, five or six meters below what had been the surface of the hillside when we began to dig. Day after day, and even week after week passed in dully shifting dirt with nothing to show for the expenditure of time and money, until the usual doubts began to haunt us as to whether or not the job was justified.

On February 23rd—six weeks after we had started the work on the hill—the Reis Gilāni reported that the men had found a rough hole in the rock under their feet, in the side of the ravine toward the temple. It was obviously impossible to explore the hole then with the loose sand and rock on the face of the excavations still overhanging it and threatening to cave in on it—and perhaps by that time we had become a little apathetic anyway. However, in due course we decided that we could clean out just the mouth and see what the hole might be. We chose a weekly market day, when the work is always shut down, and set a few men to digging. They cleared out an irregular, jagged opening in the rock, and when they were about waist deep, brought to light some rather carelessly laid brickwork on the side of the pit toward the temple.

Even that, however, failed to get us excited. True, brickwork down a pit meant the entrance to a tomb, but that carelessly dug opening and shoddily laid brickwork suggested nothing but a rather miserable, late tomb such as we had often found before. Still, as a matter of routine, we put guards on the spot, filled the hole up again, and waited for three more days until we had a good clear space around it (pl. 68). There was no reason to rush things.

On February 28th, when we had plenty of room, we went about our job again in a leisurely way. Just as we had thought, the bricks of which we had had a glimpse were merely stuffed into the mouth of an opening facing toward the temple, and were only held in place with a little clay smeared along the top of them. The pit itself was filled with any old thing that had been lying handy around its mouth in ancient times—dirt, rags, bits of a large white coffin, and the lids of straw baskets. In fact it seemed to be a rather disreputable rubbish hole, but still keeping to our routine, everything was photographed before it was moved. Then we took out a couple of bricks and flashed an electric torch inside.

It was only then that we had our first hint that our tomb was not so simple and uninteresting an affair as we had supposed. A jumble of white shawabti boxes and a headless Osiris figure could be seen just inside the opening. Beyond were several big, round baskets, to which the lids in the pit seemed to belong, piled against the wall of a

corridor that stretched into the gloom farther than the ray from the electric torch would reach (pl. 70). We had been prepared for a little tomb and here was one that stretched a dozen meters or more underground without coming to an end. The little shawabti boxes and the crude Osiris figure might appear to be the sort of late dynastic funeral furniture which we had expected, but those big baskets were the kind of thing which one usually associated with Eighteenth Dynasty tombs. And then another look and it was obvious that the tomb was already an old one when the shawabti boxes were put into it—they lay on top of dirt and rubbish covering the entire floor.

Once our first surprise was over, we began readjusting our ideas right away. We jumped to the conclusion that we had found the tomb of another of Ḥat-shepsūt's courtiers, starting, like that of her architect Sen-Mūt, outside of the temple and tunneling under the sacred edifice itself.¹⁴

That night the tomb was sealed up again and heavily guarded and the next day was spent in building a sort of old-fashioned cellar door over the pit so that we could lock the place up securely as long as our work lasted. Then we started to remove the brickwork from the entrance, photographing and planning it as we did so. One fact was soon established. Originally the corridor had been closed with a carefully built brick wall. All but the bottom courses of this wall had been broken down and the tomb entered a second time, after which it had been reclosed with bricks and stones. Later all but three courses of this second blocking had been removed and the tomb entered a third time. During this last entry dirt had fallen over the remains of the previous blockings and on this dirt the last, carelessly built sealing of the tomb had been placed (fig. 10).¹⁵ Thus, even before we had actually set foot in the tomb we knew that we should have to account for three separate entries with whatever we might find inside.

The last people in the tomb had made a path for themselves along the corridor by pushing everything over to one side. On March 3rd as soon as all the blocking of the entrance was removed I crawled in and gingerly followed in their footsteps, stepping warily so as not to disturb anything which they might have dropped. The passage was clear almost to the end, but there my way was blocked by a yellow, varnished coffin (pl. 71). Its lid was missing; inside it there lay a mummy with bandages absolutely intact and with garlands over its

¹⁴ See above, page 137.

¹⁵ In Section AB, the original blocking built on the steps is "a"; the second blocking built on the first is "b," and the third blocking built on the rubbish, "c."

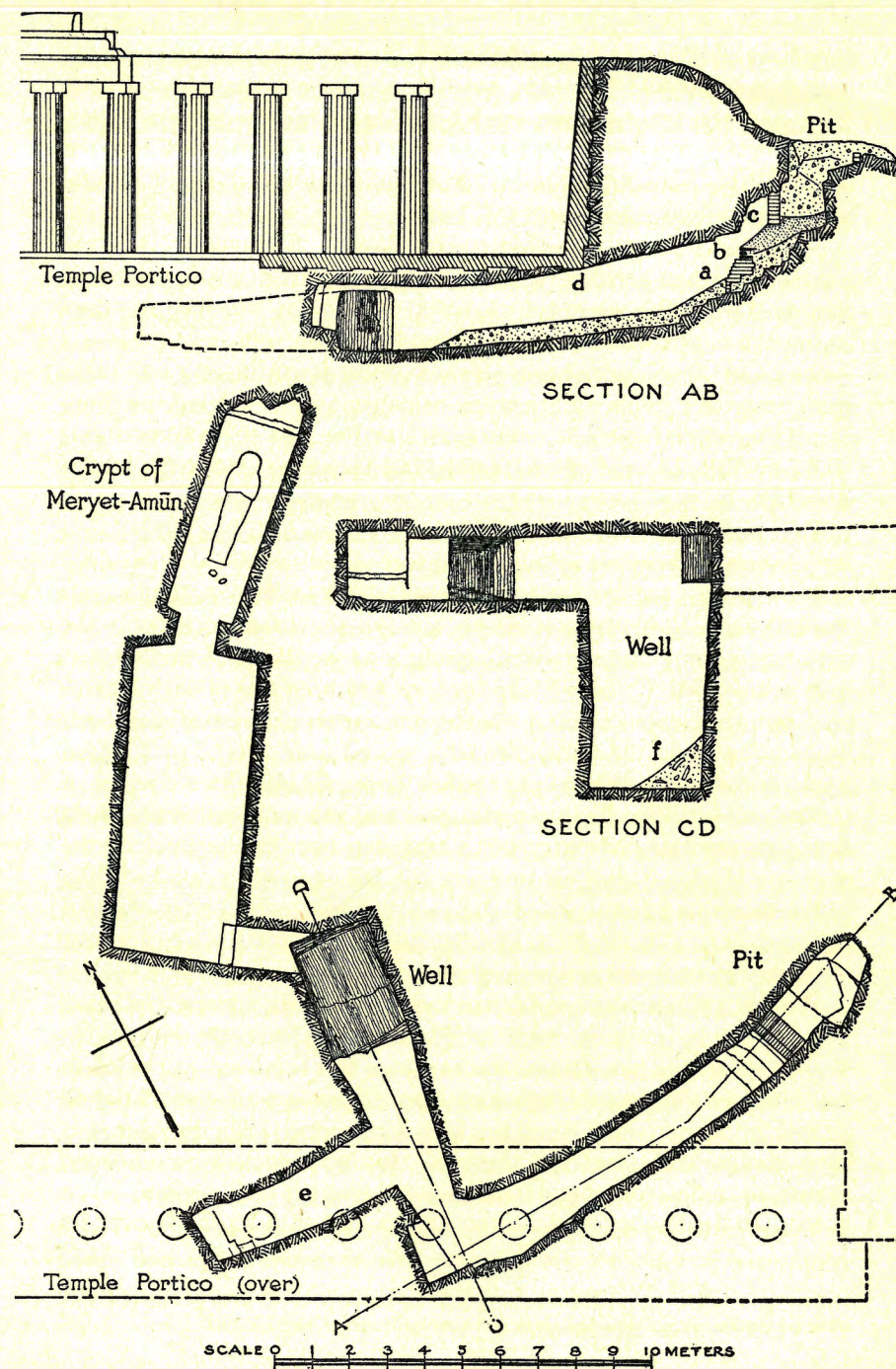


FIG. 10. PLAN OF THE TOMB OF QUEEN MERYET-AMŪN

face; and at its head a spare wig, remarkably preserved but almost solidified with the still sticky pomade in which it had been soaked. Beyond it the lid of a large outer coffin was propped up on its side in a doorway leading to the right, and just beyond the doorway lay the empty outer coffin, the missing lid of the inner coffin, and the cover which belonged over the mummy itself.

Here was a most surprising state of affairs. We were used to the confusion in which things were left by robbers, but this did not look like their work. These coffins seemed to be lying just as they had been dropped by a burial party when something had interrupted them—and another flash of the torch into the gloom ahead showed what that something was. I was on the brink of a deep well that made an absolutely impassible gulf across the corridor. The real crypt of the tomb must lie beyond, and in the far left-hand corner across the well I could see on the level on which I stood, a passage leading off to the left far out of reach and turning off at too sharp an angle for me even to peer into it from my side of the abyss.

For the time being we were completely balked. We could not cross the well without bridging it, and it was impossible to bring the necessary beams and planks down the corridor while the coffins and baskets and boxes were still in the way. Before they could be moved, Burton had his photographs to take, Hauser had his plans to draw, and I had my notes to write. However, we had seen enough already to work out at least the last chapter in the history of the tomb.

The Osiris figure which we had seen from the entrance of the corridor bore the name of "the House Mistress, the Chantress of Amūn-Rē, the King's Daughter of his body, his Beloved Entiu-ny," and the same name appeared on the shawabti figures in the boxes nearby. Although the coffins had originally been made for a woman named Te-net-bekhenū, her name had been erased and that of Entiu-ny substituted. From the style of the coffins it is quite certain that they are contemporary with those of Hent-towy, the daughter of King Pay-nūdjem, which we found not far from this tomb in 1924.¹⁶ Hence we could safely conclude that we had discovered another daughter of Pay-nūdjem, named Entiu-ny, who died and was buried, probably, in the years just preceding 1000 B.C. We had a fair approximation therefore of the date of the third and last opening of our tomb.

When Entiu-ny died somebody had known of the existence of this tomb, and her coffins and mummy, her shawabti boxes and Osiris

¹⁶ See above, pages 96, 109 and 113.

figure were brought up to it. The pit was dug out, the blocking broken through, and the heavy outer coffin and the three lids were started down the passage just ahead of the body itself in the inner coffin. As soon as the first of the bearers had turned the corner at the end of the corridor, they found themselves on the brink of the well and dropped their burdens where they stood. The bearers crowding from behind with the body had to drop it in turn. Probably a discussion followed which ended with some of the party leaving the others while they went off to look for a beam to bridge the well. At any rate some were left out of sight among the coffins long enough to chop the gilded faces off of all three lids, scattering the chips all over the floor. We could picture them hiding their plunder under their clothes when they heard that no beams could be found. We could see how the Osiris figure had been passed down to them so clumsily that its head had been broken off against the low ceiling and had rolled behind one of the baskets, and how the shawabti boxes had been carelessly dropped just inside the entrance. And we have already noticed how a few bricks had been hastily stuffed into the entrance and the dirt and rubbish lying around raked into the pit leaving the Princess Entiu-ny lying just where she had been dropped on the brink of the abyss.

It was the morning of March 11th before the well could be crossed. The night before, Hauser had finished his detailed plan showing the location of every object up to the well; Burton had taken his last photograph that morning before breakfast; and then the Reis Ḥāmid had taken out the last of the coffins of Entiu-ny. I had already tried a surveyor's pole four meters long and had found that it would reach across the well. In fact, the wall on the left side of the corridor had been cut away in ancient times to allow a timber of just that length to make the turn. When all was clear we brought down a light beam and worked it across the well on to the doorsill on the opposite side. On the first we slid a second beam, and on the two, a board. Together they would hold my weight and I crawled across on my hands and knees.

From the doorway on the other side there was one step down and then inky blackness. I turned on my torch and flashed it around. I was in a chamber just high enough to stand up in, seemingly interminably long in the gloom—and blankly empty. For a moment the bottom seemed to have fallen out of everything, and then my light shone on a narrow doorway at the far end (pl. 72). I took the eight or ten strides across the empty chamber and came to a standstill just within the doorway beside three little empty saucers and a dried and shriveled

bundle of leaves lying at the foot of an enormous recumbent figure. My light flickered along it and came to rest on a great placid face staring fixedly upward in the deathly silence of the dark crypt. Then it flickered back and followed down a column of hieroglyphics announcing that "the King gives a boon to Osiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, that he may cause to come forth at the call bread and beer, beef and fowl, bandages, incense and unguents and all things good and pure on which a god lives, and the sweet north wind; for the spirit of the King's Daughter and Sister, the God's Wife, the King's Great Wife, joined to the Crown of Upper Egypt, the Mistress of the Two Lands, Meryet-Amūn, true of voice with Osiris." The silence, the dark, and the realization of the ages that coffin had laid there—for it was a coffin—all combined in creating an eerie effect; and whatever one may expect, that does not happen so very often in digging.

Nor was there time to let it last very long then, for evidently we had quite a job on our hands. In the first place it would be just as well to let the Reis Ḥāmid have a look as head of the native workmen, so that the rumors which were bound to start would have some relation to fact. Then it was evident that before anything in a royal tomb of this sort was touched it should be seen by a representative of the Service des Antiquités. A note was therefore sent to Tewfik Effendi Boulos, the Chief Inspector in Luxor, and the tomb was locked up until his arrival. Tewfik Effendi came on the thirteenth and saw the coffin as it lay. The next day was spent in flooring over the whole well and in photographing. On the fifteenth, with Tewfik Effendi present again, we raised the gigantic coffin lid and exposed a disproportionately small coffin inside (pl. 72). That in turn was photographed as it lay and then opened and we were looking at a slender little mummy simply wrapped, and festooned with garlands still fresh enough to show the colors of their flowers (pl. 74). By nightfall both of the coffins and the mummy were safely stored in the workshop at our house.

The big coffin of Meryet-Amūn is a remarkable object (pl. 73). Not only is it of gigantic size, but it is a piece of superbly skillful joinery, made of carefully selected cedar planks tenoned together and carved inside and out to a uniform thinness.¹⁷ The carving of the face has been studied with the most subtle knowledge, and accomplished with a surface as soft and smooth as the features which it portrays.

¹⁷ The length is 313.5 cm. Nowhere, except on the face, is the wood more than 5.5 cm., or less than 3.5 cm., thick.

The eyes and eyebrows are inlaid with glass; the wig and the torso are carved with deeply incised chevrons and scales painted blue; and the body is sheathed in feathers lightly engraved in the wood. But the glass of the eyebrows and lids is cheap and is carelessly stuck in the place of some more valuable material. The incisions in the decoration of the wig and torso and in the inscription are partly filled with a cement which still retains the casts of inlays. And finally, over the body there are rows of little nail holes which show that, except perhaps for the face, the whole coffin was once sheathed in sheets of gold, both inside and out. Obviously this coffin was once of a richness comparable to that of the outer coffin of Tūt-ʿankh-Amūn.

The inner coffin, while much smaller,¹⁸ had been almost as lavishly decorated. On the head we found a tenon hole which had once held the golden vulture head of a queen's crown, and all over the body there were the rows of nail holes showing that within and without the entire coffin had been incased in sheets of gold, which must have been chased with the feather pattern still to be seen lightly scored in the wood. None of this richness was left, however. In place of the vulture head on the brow a uraeus had been painted; the wig was colored blue and the face yellow; a blue and yellow collar had been daubed over the breast; right across the feather pattern down the front was painted a copy of the inscription on the big coffin, and the body was given a red wash.

At some time in antiquity the tomb of Meryet-Amūn had been robbed and on the discovery of the outrage all that was possible had been done to cover up the damage. The coffins had been cleaned and painted, the mummy had been shut up in them once more, and the little offering dishes and the wreath of leaves had been placed at the feet. The date when all this had happened had been recorded in a docket, written across the outermost bandage on the breast of the mummy itself in a bold hieratic hand, reading: "Year 19, Month 3 of Akhet, Day 28. On this day examination of the King's Wife Meryet-Amūn" (pl. 74).¹⁹ For a long time we were at a loss to know what nineteenth year was meant, but we eventually settled that point when we came to unwrap the mummy. The mummy had been stripped almost to the bone, but it had been most carefully bandaged up again in clean, new linen and among the sheets we found several marked:

¹⁸ Length, 185 cm.

¹⁹ At the time of the discovery of this docket we were fortunate in having the help of Prof. Eric Peet, who was the leading authority on documents relating to the tomb robberies in the Twenty-first Dynasty.

"Linen made by the High Priest of Amūn, Ma-sa-har-ti, true of voice, for his father Amūn in the Year 18." Since Ma-sa-har-ti was high priest in the reign of King Pay-nūdjem, it was clearly in the latter's nineteenth year—or about November 25th, 1049 B.C.—that the mummy of Meryet-Amūn had been restored.

We were learning a good deal about the history of the tomb. That second blocking of the doorway must have been done in 1049 B.C. by the necropolis officials who restored Meryet-Amūn's mummy. After they had closed up the doorway, they would naturally have been careful to hide the tomb once more, but in spite of their precautions its existence would have been known to lots of people working in the necropolis at the time. That is to say, the location of the tomb would have been known and would have been remembered for several years, but few could have seen it inside or would have suspected the existence of the well which cut off the back chambers. We must assume that when Entiu-ny died none of the officials who had ever been in the tomb were still active in the necropolis, and that those who chose it for her burial place were in possession only of this second-hand knowledge. Of course it is impossible to translate such a condition of affairs into terms of years, but at least we can feel reasonably certain that Entiu-ny died well within a generation of the nineteenth year of Pay-nūdjem—an excellent check on our idea that she was Pay-nūdjem's daughter.

However, we had not yet settled to our own entire satisfaction the problem of the first blocking and the original ownership of the tomb. At the time when the robberies were becoming only too common, the royal mummies were often moved by the priests to hidden and unsuspected corners of the necropolis. Hence the mere finding of Meryet-Amūn's mummy in this tomb did not necessarily mean that it had been hers in the first place, and it was only when we had cleaned the last of the rubbish out of the tomb that we were certain. A pile of rags had been thrown into the unfinished corridor to the left of the well (fig. 9 e). When we came to examine them they turned out to be the bandages cut and ripped off a mummy, and among them we found one marked: "The God's Wife, the King's Wife, Meryet-Amūn, beloved of Amūn. May she live!" These, then, were obviously the original bandages torn off of Meryet-Amūn's mummy by the thieves. A pile of rubbish of all sorts had been swept out of the back chambers into the well and still lay where it had fallen on the far side of the well bottom (fig. 9 f). Among other fragments of funeral furniture this pile contained bits of an enormous wooden coffin plastered over with

white gesso. Other pieces of the same coffin had been found already in the corridor and in the entrance pit, and when they were put together, we discovered that it had been actually big enough to hold the great coffin of Meryet-Amūn. In addition, we found the vulture head of the queen's crown from the coffins's brow. Obviously here was a third, outermost coffin of Meryet-Amūn so completely wrecked by the thieves that it had been simply swept out of sight at the time of the restoration of the mummy. From these finds it followed that Meryet-Amūn had been robbed here in this tomb, for it was very unlikely that the necropolis officials would have brought scraps of her torn-up bandages and of her demolished coffin from a distance. Furthermore, the most minute examination of the rubbish from the tomb failed to show any trace of an earlier occupant. And thus it was that at the end of all of our theorizing we arrived at the conclusion that we had discovered the tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn and that it was at her funeral that the door had first been walled up.

In the meantime, we had noticed two things that gave us a very good idea of the date of the tomb itself. The corridor passed obliquely under the north portico of the temple. In fact, so close under the portico did it pass, that the under side of the temple foundations were actually exposed in one place in the corridor roof, hanging precariously over our heads as we worked (fig. 9 d). Now it is possible to dig under foundations once they are set, and even to expose them without necessarily bringing them down, but it is absolutely impossible to lay heavy stones unsupported across a void, or supported at most by only a thin shell of crumbling shale. Thus the tomb must have been made after the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty when the temple was built. On the other hand, while a well cutting off the back part of the tomb was common in the Valley of the Kings throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the Nineteenth Dynasty it was given up. Therefore, we felt safe in dating the tomb of Meryet-Amūn to the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and her coffins confirmed this date absolutely. No one familiar with the two gigantic coffins now in Cairo, which Amen-hotpe I made for the Queens Neferet-iry and Aḥ-hotpe, could place the almost identical, and equally large coffin of Meryet-Amūn much more than a century later. In short, Meryet-Amūn could not have been buried earlier than 1480 B.C. when the temple was finished, and probably not much later than about 1440 B.C.

The only question that remained at this point was to settle the identity of Meryet-Amūn herself. Two queens of that name were known, but our queen could be neither. One of them belonged to the

family of Aḥ-mose I, which was too early; and the other, to the family of Ramesses II, which was too late. And anyway the mummy of the first was already in the Cairo Museum, and the tomb and sarcophagus of the second had long been known in the Valley of the Queens.

There remained a Princess Meryet-Amūn—"the King's Daughter, the King's Sister, the God's Wife and Hand (-maiden?), sweet in love, living like Rē"—portrayed in the Shrine of Ḥat-Ḥor erected at Deir el Baḥri by Thut-mose III.²⁰ No other representation of her has survived, but her titles and her position in the shrine make it evident that at the time of its erection this Meryet-Amūn was the ranking daughter of Thut-mose III and of his Great Wife, Meryet-Rē. Furthermore, we know that the shrine was still under construction at the very end of the reign of Thut-mose III and it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that Meryet-Amūn survived her father.²¹ True, she is not called a queen, but up to a certain point she bears exactly the same titles as our Queen Meryet-Amūn.

The title "the God's Wife," borne by both of them, merits a short digression.²² Elsewhere we find it more fully written "the God's Wife of Amūn in Karnak." Amūn was the patron god of Thebes and Karnak his principal shrine. After the expulsion of the Hyksos invaders the kings in Thebes attributed to Amūn not only their power but even their actual, physical being, the belief having arisen that Amūn had begotten each succeeding king in turn. It must be more than a mere coincidence that it is just at the time when this fiction appears that we find the title "the God's Wife" applied to the Great Wives of the kings—those queens who might be expected in the natural course of events to bear the successive heirs to the throne.

Since Amūn was to be the father, and the King's Great Wife the mother, of the next ruler, the queen was set apart from all other mortal women. Without much doubt the outward sign of the mystic union of queen and god was in the title "the God's Wife," and on the face of it, it would seem reasonable to suppose that this title was conferred on her in a divine marriage ceremony which would have been part of the pomp of her earthly nuptials. The human marriage would have taken place in many cases before the queen and her mortal con-

²⁰ Discovered and first published by Naville, *The Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, vol. I, pl. XXVIII B.

²¹ The shrine was erected in the 45th and succeeding years of Thut-mose III; see above, page 80. The statue of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor was not installed in the sanctuary until the reign of Amen-hotpe II, the successor of Thut-mose III.

²² Abstract of the *Bulletin*, XXIV (1929), November, II, p. 34.

sort had ascended the throne. In these cases we can imagine the selection of "the King's Daughter and the King's Sister" who was to be the wife of the heir, was to outrank all of his other wives and concubines, and was to be the mother of his successor. We can picture her marriage to her princely husband, and we can imagine her being taken to Karnak and there dedicated to her great future by a marriage to Amūn which would make her "the God's Wife." Then, in the course of time would follow the accession of her husband to the throne and she would become "the King's Great Wife, joined to the Crown of Upper Egypt, the Mistress of the Two Lands," and, if she had borne a son, "the King's Mother." Thus we can read the whole career of an Egyptian queen in the order in which her titles were commonly written, and furthermore we can state that any princess who bore the title "the God's Wife" must have been the wife of a king, or at least of a king's heir.

Once we had come to this last conclusion we had practically proved that the Princess Meryet-Amūn, the daughter of Thut-mose III, must have been the wife of his heir and successor Amen-hotpe II. Since we know she was alive at the very end of her father's reign, we may assume that she was still alive in the last year of his life when her husband was made co-regent, and in the following year when he became sole ruler, and thus must herself have become Queen Meryet-Amūn. Furthermore, since Amen-hotpe II succeeded in 1447 B.C., we suppose Meryet-Amūn died soon afterwards.

During her father's lifetime she had been "the King's Daughter, the King's Sister, and the God's Wife" of the Ḥat-Ḥor shrine. After his death she had become "the King's Great Wife, joined to the Crown of Upper Egypt, the Mistress of the Two Lands" of the coffins which we had found. But the last and most treasured of titles—"the King's Mother"—had never been hers. She must have died soon after the coronation, for Queen Ti-ḥo, who had borne Amen-hotpe II a son, occupied the position "the God's Wife, the King's Great Wife," and "the King's Mother" during the greater part of Amen-hotpe's reign.²³ Of Meryet-Amūn, who had died childless soon after her coronation, no recognized trace existed until we found her tomb. Ti-ḥo, the mother of Thut-mose IV, has long been known from the monuments of both her husband and her son.

Knowing now, with fair assurance, who Queen Meryet-Amūn was, we can complete the story of the tomb.

²³ Ti-ḥo is called "the God's Wife" on her shawabti coffin in the Carnarvon Collection, M. M. A. 26.7.931.

In the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty it was already becoming the custom to bury the pharaohs themselves in what we now call the Valley of the Kings, but there was as yet no Valley of the Queens. Several of them had been buried here and there in the desolate cliffs on the distant southern side of the mountain, when someone thought of the little ravine behind the almost deserted temple of Ḥat-shepsūt as a sufficiently secret and safe place for the tomb of the new queen, Meryet-Amūn. Work was begun on it at least as early as her coronation but it was still unfinished when she died soon afterward. There was no time to hew out an actual burial crypt and her gigantic white outermost coffin was installed in the last of the unfinished passages beyond the well. On the day of her funeral came the enormous coffin overlaid with gold and brilliant with incrustations, the little innermost coffin just large enough to hold the mummy, and the mummy itself heavy with jewelry within its bandages. The coffins were closed, the richest of the tomb furniture was placed nearby, the bridge across the well was removed, and baskets full of the less valuable clothing and food were stacked in the outer corridors. Then the entrance was carefully bricked up and the pit filled in—and Meryet-Amūn lay in peace for the next four centuries.

The succeeding chapters we have already told: how in the nineteenth year of King Pay-nūdjem, Ma-sa-har-ti being high priest, the tomb was discovered, pillaged, and again closed, and how a few years later it was opened again for Pay-nūdjem's daughter, Entiu-ny. Then followed nearly thirty centuries of quiet, unbroken until 1929.

SEASON OF 1929-1930

If during the season of 1929-30 the Expedition accomplished any one thing which stands out from the rest, it was the bringing together of some of the long and widely scattered pieces of the statues of Ḥat-shepsūt of which so many had been unearthed in the preceding winters.¹ The negotiations with Dr. Schäfer and with his colleague Dr. Alexander Scharff in Berlin had been of the pleasantest, without any beating about the bush, and almost immediately had ended in a completely amicable arrangement. The Berlin Museum prized its sphinx head which had frequently been published as one of the outstanding things in its Egyptian collection. We set great store by our beautiful marble head, and the natural thing to do was to swap the two bodies. Thus, Berlin got a most imposing complete granite sphinx, and the Metropolitan Museum acquired a complete seated statue which will always be one of the prizes of its Egyptian Department. For the head of the big kneeling statue we already had in New York something which could be offered. In 1922-23 we had found five practically complete small kneeling statues. Two had been retained by the Cairo Museum, and of our three one could well be called an equivalent of the head.

The Director and Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum and the Prussian Minister of Education ratified these proposed exchanges, and during the winter of 1929 the sphinx and the little statue were shipped to Berlin, and the marble statue and the granite head were shipped to New York. After that the work of putting together once more these long scattered fragments went on apace. I must confess to having felt considerable nervousness once the heavy stones had started on their respective ways. After all, it was only guesswork whether the fragments would fit, but when even the last sliver from the tip of a nose clicked into place, something louder than the proverbial sigh of relief escaped me.

So it happens that the Metropolitan Museum had a practically complete seated statue of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt, 196 centimeters high (pl. 58). Since it was the only statue from Deir el Baḥri of its creamy white, marble-like stone, and since it is by far the most beautifully carved of the temple statues, it is obvious that it must have been designed for a very important place—perhaps the center of the actual mortuary chapel of the queen herself. In any case, there is one very

¹ *Bulletin*, XXV (1930), December, II, p. 3.

interesting point about it. Ḥat-shepsūt as a woman had no right to be a sovereign of ancient Egypt, and her portraits almost invariably show her in the guise of a bearded king. This fiction was preserved in all the bas-reliefs upon the Deir el Baḥri temple walls and on all of the statues and sphinxes which lined the way traversed by the procession of the barque of Amūn on its journey to the sanctuary. Only two comparatively small seated statues have been found—one in black granite and the other in red—showing her with the figure and the dress of a woman, possibly because they may have stood in the shrine of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor. The marble statue would appear to be a compromise, as though it had been intended for some place where the artist had felt uncertain whether he must disguise his queen behind the beard of a man, or whether he could show her as the woman she was. He has given her the headdress and the short kilt of a man, but her face is beardless and has a charm which is distinctly feminine, and her body—while not a woman's—is moulded with a slenderness and grace in keeping with her features.

As for the granite head, the fragments belonging to it were replaced, and it was temporarily exhibited while the work of assembling the body went forward. With its queer tall crown the head may have seemed ill proportioned, but this impression was rectified once the big kneeling statue was reassembled to its full height of 272 centimeters. The head alone was a superb great thing—simplified almost to a fault, but this very economy of detail gave it the calm dignity appropriate to a row of eight such granite colossi which kneeling, greeted the god Amūn on his visits to the temple.

The satisfaction over the reuniting of these finds made by Lepsius was perhaps all the more acute after the failure of another similar attempt to reunite a fragment we recognized in the Palace of Soestdijk near Utrecht and now in the Leyden Museum as a gift from the Queen Mother. That it is part of the statue found by us is absolutely certain, for a cast of it which was made by the Leyden Museum fits our pieces perfectly. Unfortunately, however, among the several pieces of Ḥat-shepsūt sculpture which we offered to exchange for the original none tempted the authorities in Holland, and it would seem that our statue must be restored in plaster, while one part lies on one side of the Atlantic and the rest on the other.

Meanwhile, the work of restoration and of assembling other fragments had been going on steadily. Among the pieces brought together during the previous season was one of the seated statues of Ḥat-shepsūt as a woman, probably from the Ḥat-Ḥor shrine, but, un-

fortunately, of the head only one fragment was found. Of the sphinxes, the fragments of two gigantic creatures in red granite were sorted out. One eventually went to Cairo and the other went to the Metropolitan Museum. The much shattered head of still another sphinx is interesting chiefly as a further commentary on the dependability of Egyptian portraiture. The face is an elongated oval, very narrow across the eyes, with an almost straight nose, in marked contrast to the wide-cheeked and small-chinned faces with high-bridged and curving noses of the standard portraits.

In Cairo and in the Metropolitan Museum the long task of restoration went forward as fast as such work could. Cairo's gigantic kneeling statue, having been broken into comparatively few pieces, was readily reërected and made a most imposing monument. Our kneeling statues from the same row were shattered into uncountable pieces and their restoration took time. The Cairo sphinx was restored with remarkable skill under the admirable direction of Mr. Engelbach, Keeper of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Nearly ten years were to pass between the time the Museum's Egyptian Expedition first began to unearth fragments of granite sphinxes at Deir el Baḥri and the finishing of the last of them for exhibition in New York.² As we have seen, two sphinxes and also the head of a third had gone to Cairo, the head and body of a fourth had been reunited in Berlin, and fragments of the fifth sphinx and of the head of the sixth were brought to New York.

Our sphinx had undergone many vicissitudes. The wrecking gangs sent into the temple by Thut-mose III first battered off the uraeus from the brow, where it had been carved as the symbol of the kingship which Ḥat-shepsūt usurped. Then the granite animal 343 centimeters long, was broken in two across the middle, and the head 164 centimeters high, was broken off. The latter was rolled into the deepest part of the quarry, where a fire was built upon it to obliterate its features, and gradually the drift sand buried it deeply. The two heavy sections of the body were left near the surface of the quarry, and there later Egyptians hacked pieces away to make hammers and millstones. Nevertheless, we were able to gather together a sufficient number of pieces to build the sphinx up again, and the parts which we have had to restore have, in all cases, been parts which we could readily duplicate from what existed. To-day the lithe lion's body, with its proudly erect head gazes on a strange new world (pl. 50).

² The account of the restoration of this sphinx appeared in the *Bulletin*, XXX (1935), p. 159.

While work was proceeding on the statues there was still a great deal to be done on the tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn found in the spring of 1929. By the end of the season we had made our records of the position of everything as we had found it, had cleared the tomb out and had sent the coffins to the Cairo Museum. But her mummy which we had unwrapped, her furniture, and the mummy and coffins of Princess Entiu-ny remained at Luxor. It had been the hard and fast rule of our Expedition to defer any attempt to write the final scientific accounts of any phase of our discoveries until we felt a reasonable certainty that our excavations would not bring forth any further related material. Too often had the conclusions of one season been modified by a discovery of the next winter. However, the case of Meryet-Amūn seemed to have been very different. Hers was probably the only Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb in our concession at Thebes, and the chances seemed very slim of our making any similar discovery in future excavations. Therefore a final account of it was prepared and was published in 1932.

The Queen herself had the best attention. Dr. Derry came up to Luxor during the winter to help us and his visit coincided with one from Sir Arthur Keith of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, whose suggestions were—as one might expect—most inspiring. Together we made an examination of her body.

Meryet-Amūn was a delicately formed, graceful person, slightly below the average height of the known women of the Eighteenth Dynasty royal family. Her eyes were set wide apart under a broad, straight, intelligent forehead. Her nose had clearly been high-bridged and well formed. Her chin was slender and pointed, and although it was receding, it was in nowise weak. In fact, if one desired to reconstruct a lifelike portrait of her from her mummy (pl. 75), one probably would arrive at something very close to the impression of Ḥat-shepsūt which we get from the marble statue (pl. 58). But we know that Thut-mose III bore a strong resemblance to his aunt Ḥat-shepsūt, and if Meryet-Amūn did too then the latter must have had exactly the appearance which we should expect in Thut-mose III himself. Then another point—Thut-mose III was the second shortest out of nine Eighteenth Dynasty kings whose bodies have survived to our time, and yet—quite in keeping with his remarkable genius—his head was larger than that of any other member of his family. Now Meryet-Amūn was below the average in height among her woman relatives, but her magnificent, well-formed head was larger than that of any other queen or princess of the line whose body has survived. Again,

this is just what we should expect of a daughter of Thut-mose III and we felt that our conclusions had obtained support. Naturally we did not claim that family resemblances were in the nature of absolute historical proof, but if we were advancing the claim that Meryet-Amūn was the daughter of Thut-mose III, it was satisfying to find that she looked like him.

The next point of interest was the age of Meryet-Amūn when she died. So far as we could estimate she seems to have been nearly fifty years old at that time and if, as seems likely, she died between five and ten years after her father—say about 1440 B.C.—our estimate would put her birth close to 1490 B.C. That would have been the eleventh year of the reign of Thut-mose III when he was a young man in his early twenties, and about the time that Ḥat-shepsūt's daughter, Neferu-Rē, the first wife of Thut-mose III had died. On the death of Neferu-Rē, Meryet-Rē had taken her place as principal consort. Since Meryet-Amūn appears to have been a daughter of Meryet-Rē, she was probably the first child of the marriage of Thut-mose and Meryet-Rē, which would explain perfectly her position as the ranking princess of the court. Amen-hotpe II was another of their children—and thus a full brother of Meryet-Amūn—but he was a child of their later life, born perhaps twenty years after Meryet-Amūn.³ Of course, in dealing with the anatomy of human beings after they are twenty-five years old it is very rare that an estimate of age can be made closer than within say five or ten years, but even making this allowance for the individuals involved here, our story of Meryet-Amūn will still hold.

In fact, the story appears to be perfectly plausible. Meryet-Amūn was born in the days when Sen-Mūt was building Queen Ḥat-shepsūt's temple at Deir el BaĦri, and her birth must have made sorry news for the old queen and her architect. The future of both of them was wrapped up in the little Queen Neferu-Rē, and that Meryet-Rē, the rival should have given birth to the king's first child could hardly have been welcome. Then came the end of Neferu-Rē, while the little princess, Meryet-Amūn, and her mother survived the ten remaining years of the régime of Ḥat-shepsūt and her favorite, Sen-Mūt, and lived on through the exciting and glorious years of her warlike father's freedom. When Meryet-Amūn was practically grown—we need not be too insistent, though, in our statement that she was

³ According to Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies*, p. 36, Amen-hotpe II was about fifty years old at his death. Since he died in 1422 B.C., he was born somewhere around 1470 B.C.

exactly twenty—a boy was born to her father and her mother and this little brother was destined to be heir to the throne. The dignity of co-regent was conferred upon him when he in turn was approaching twenty and, according to custom, the ranking daughter of his father became his queen in order that the line should be kept wholly royal and divine. In this case, the lot fell to his sister, Meryet-Amūn, now a mature woman, years his elder. In fact, she was so many years his elder that she survived his accession but a little while, and then she herself passed away and her place was taken by Queen Ti-ḳo, the mother of King Ṭhut-mose IV.

In work on what we had found in her tomb Professor Percy E. Newberry, then of the Egyptian University in Cairo, very kindly helped us by identifying the botanical specimens. The restorers had laid at the foot of Meryet-Amūn's coffins on that day late in November in 1049 B.C. three little dishes and three bundles of persea twigs with a few half-ripe persea fruits still on them (pl. 75). On the mummy's breast they had tied garlands and such was the marvelous preservation of the flowers that some of them still retained a faint flush of color in their faded petals. Newberry could point out, without any question, blossoms of the acacia, petals of the lotus and of the red field poppy, and leaves of the willow. Now the acacia tree blossoms just after the waters of the annual flood are off the land, in late November, and in Egypt the willow is then in leaf. The persea ripens to-day in Cairo in January. In Thebes it would have ripened a little earlier and the end of November would have seen its fruits still green. Thus the date on the docket and the fruits and flowers together gave a neat and unexpected confirmation to the work of the modern chronologists who have been equating the ancient Egyptian calendar with our own. As for the poppy, in Egypt it should blossom in its wild state among the grain fields in March and not with the acacia just after the flood, but the poppy is easily grown in the garden at almost any time, and hence these from the tomb of Meryet-Amūn must be garden-grown poppies.

It was understood that the mummy of Meryet-Amūn, being that of a queen of Egypt, should be taken to the Cairo Museum there to lie near the great Pharaoh whose ire was enough to keep Moses exiled for years, or the remains of the other Pharaoh, his son, who stood up so long against that same Moses when he returned to work the wonders taught him by Jehovah as a preliminary to the Exodus. For her third rest we completely wrapped her as we had found her, with the garlands on her breast and the docket of the old inspectors written

across her shroud. We had saved every single linen bandage as we had taken it off, making careful notes of how she had been wrapped, and in doing so we had a very illuminating practical illustration of just how the ancient Egyptian had gone about his task. For one thing, we discovered that in spite of the fact that some of the linen was now very frail and had to be handled with every care, the mummy could be rewrapped in one morning, and we felt quite sure that the restorers of the tomb of Meryet-Amūn could have done all that they did there between sunup and sundown on that November 25th of 1049 B.C. which they recorded as the date of their visit to the tomb.

The tomb of Meryet-Amūn had been very methodically plundered, and the Twenty-first Dynasty robbers had overlooked nothing of any value to them. Nearly everything gilt was carried off almost bodily, and to make any estimate of her funerary furniture we had to study mere chips and scraps dropped by the thieves. Not one single utensil of metal, and hardly a trace of alabaster, was left, but naturally pottery vessels of obsolete shapes were left behind as useless to the robbers. Among them we found a large amphora which still contained the yeasty sediment of Meryet-Amūn's beer (pl. 75). Analyzed by Dr. Johannes Grüss in Berlin this yeast turned out to be remarkably interesting. It was the same yeast that the Egyptians had been using since the Prehistoric Period before 3400 B.C., when it had been a wild organism full of impurities. Samples which we had sent to Dr. Grüss several years before from tombs of about 2000 B.C. showed a better culture of the same yeast,⁴ but it was only with Meryet-Amūn's beer of 1440 B.C. that the yeast could be called pure. After two thousand years the Egyptian brewer had developed a culture almost comparable to the modern, without the aid of the modern paraphernalia of microscopes and filters.

Empty pots were left and so were four-hundred-year-old baskets out of which the bottoms fell whenever the thieves moved them, but to us they give a remarkable picture of the homelier furnishings of an ancient Egyptian house. Little baskets decorated with rows of strange primitive ostriches (pl. 70) are strikingly like the baskets made in Edfu and in Nubia to-day and sold to the tourists in Aswān. Bigger ones, without any decoration, were the clothes baskets of three thousand five hundred years ago. It was from such intimate articles of the baggage of an Egyptian lady on her voyage to the Underworld that we could piece together a picture of her life on earth.

⁴ Dr. Grüss first discovered the ancient yeast cells in these samples, and for that reason he named the organism *Saccharomyces Winlocki*.

It is interesting to find while on the subject of Meryet-Amūn that we in the Metropolitan Museum have two scarabs which must have belonged to officials of her household. One in the Ward Collection presented to the Museum by J. Pierpont Morgan, is inscribed "the King's Great Wife Meryet-Amūn," and the second, originally in the Amherst Collection and afterwards in the Carnarvon Collection presented by Edward S. Harkness, is inscribed "the Estate of Meryet-Amūn."

When in November, 1049 B.C., the restorers of Meryet-Amūn's mummy had finished their work, they buried her tomb once more from the prying eyes of the necropolis thieves, and left it hidden for perhaps a score of years until it was opened again for the funeral of the King's Daughter Entiu-ny.

We could not unwrap the mummy in 1929-30 (pl. 76), but the following winter we had the chance, and after a few layers of linen had been removed, we found a papyrus folded several times over and over on itself and then laid across her thighs. More linen was removed, and then on her breast we found a blue faience amulet on which was displayed a scarab with outspread wings. A little more, and we had uncovered the body and were ready for Dr. Derry's help.

Entiu-ny, we discovered, was a very short woman—only 4 feet 10 inches tall, in fact—but she had been extraordinarily fat. At first glance she appeared to be weirdly and grotesquely young, but a very little further examination showed that she owed this look to the dyes her hairdressers had put on her scanty gray locks in life, and to the gruesome art of the undertakers who had filled out and painted her shrunken face after death. The truth is, she was about seventy years old when she died, and again we found that the anatomist and the archaeologist could work together to puzzle out details of history.

The inscriptions on Entiu-ny's funeral paraphernalia had informed us that she was a "King's Daughter," but they had not named the king, her father. It happened, however, that several years before, but actually only a very few yards away, we had found the tomb of an aged Princess Hent-towy, the daughter of King Pay-nūdjem.⁵ Entiu-ny's coffins were so very much like Hant-towy's that we had concluded that Entiu-ny, since she was a King's Daughter, must have been a daughter of the same Pay-nūdjem who was Hent-towy's father. Now Hent-towy had been a very fat, short little old woman, and Pay-nūdjem's son, Ma-sa-har-ti, the High Priest, had been a remarkably

⁵ See above, pages 178 and references there given.

fat little man, and here was Princess Entiu-ny bearing a strong family likeness to the two whom we wanted to call her brother and sister. Just as in the case of Meryet-Amūn, we realized that this could hardly be called proof of our historical theories, but at least it tended to make them reasonable.

The burial furniture of a Twenty-first Dynasty personage, even of Entiu-ny's rank, was never so elaborate as had been that of earlier times. There had been so many scandals in ancient Thebes, involving even the mayor and the district officials, that the Thebans had begun to realize how impossible it was for the dead to keep their treasures under a dishonest administration of the living. Furthermore, the subjects of King Pay-nūdjem were no longer sure of the usefulness of the furniture their ancestors had taken on the journey to the next world. They began to foresee a future in which the trappings of this life did not hold so important a place after all. They thought more and more of the need of learning the proper way to conduct themselves when they came into the presence of the multitude of strange gods, genii, and demons who made up the population of the uncanny universe to which they were bound. This course of conduct was set forth in certain very old writings on scrolls of papyrus, which they might take along with them to be memorized or consulted as occasion arose on the journey to the Underworld.

In the Twenty-first Dynasty the orthodox thing was to place on the mummy itself the "Book of Him who is in the Underworld,"⁶ a sort of mystical guide containing a map and a description of that strange region under the earth through which the sun must pass each night from the place of its setting back to where it was to rise again. The dead, according to one belief, accompanied the sun, sailing with him in a barque towed by twelve parties of gods, each party taking it through one of the twelve night hours. The papyrus which we found on Entiu-ny's mummy bears the name of this book but at best it is only an abridgment of the whole work, showing some score of uncouth demons, difficult to identify, with as many pictures of Entiu-ny's mummy alternating among them (pl. 77).

The second *vade mecum* for the journeyings of the dead was the "Book of the Going Forth by Day"—which in modern times we call the Book of the Dead. While "He who is in the Underworld" was placed on the body, a small hollow replica of the mummy in the guise of the god Osiris was provided in the Twenty-first Dynasty to hold the "Going Forth by Day."

⁶ For the following pages I owe much to Dr. Hayes.

The Osiris figure made for Entiu-ny, now in Cairo, was a little wooden statue 64.5 cm. high modeled with childish crudeness (pl. 76). Through a crack in the front we had been able to get a glimpse of the roll of papyrus inside, and when we turned the figure upside down there was a circular patch of wood in the base held in place with plaster. Carefully prying this patch loose we exposed the end of the papyrus and easily slipped it out, almost as fresh and solid as the day on which it had been put there nearly three thousand years ago. In Egypt it was not advisable to unroll more than was needful to estimate the nature of the book inside. Once in New York, however, the task of opening the entire roll was undertaken. By leaving it overnight in a box with dampened cotton and letting the outer layers of the roll absorb moisture, in the morning we could unroll the first two or three feet, inch by inch. When the drier, inner layers were arrived at and the papyrus began to feel brittle and crackly, the unrolling was stopped and the damp box was placed over what remained of the roll until the next day. Thus, day by day and foot by foot, the great roll opened out to the end, 564 centimeters long.

Entiu-ny's Book of the Dead was a very important accession to the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian collection. The examples of funerary papyri of the period of the Empire which we already possessed either were very short abridgments or were sadly damaged, and here is an example reasonably full, in perfect condition, and of very good and characteristic execution. The brilliancy of the colors in the illustrations is astounding. The drawing is skilled and rapid, graceful and absolutely typical of the period of the High Priestly régime in Thebes. Perhaps one of the most interesting things about the papyrus is the fact that it is obviously the work of two men. The more skillful of the two drew the illustrations and boldly sketched in solid black characters their titles. The texts of the chapters were then filled in by an apprentice, whose hand was far less sure and not entirely faultless. This was an eminently human division of labor, for although the texts were the whole sum and purpose of the papyrus they were likely to be taken more or less for granted by the purchaser, who was expected to judge her acquisition by the charm of the delightfully fresh and pleasing drawings. And it is a fortunate division for us whose interest in Egyptian dogmas is more difficult to arouse than our ever lively interest in Egyptian art.

The "Book of the Going Forth by Day" was a very large collection of spells designed to help the dead justify themselves before the gods of the Osirian cycle, to provide the more material needs of the tomb,

and to imbue the dead with the power of entering and leaving the tomb freely. Curiously enough, no definite canon seems to have been drawn up by the rather loose-thinking Egyptians who never absolutely fixed the number or the order of the chapters, and who left to the professional copyists almost complete freedom in their selections. To be sure, certain chapters were usually recognized as more important than others, but the number of them in any given example seems to have depended entirely on how much one wanted to pay for a copy of the book. Thus, Entiu-ny's scroll contained ten chapters with the appropriate illustrations to seven,⁷ but for fourteen others she got only the illustrations without the text.

The papyrus starts at the extreme right with the judgment of the dead. Entiu-ny, with flowers on her head, a golden sistrum in her hand, and a tall incense brazier in front of her, stands at the door of the "Hall of the Two Truths" within which the forty-two judges of the dead hold session (pl. 79). She calls upon each judge by name and to each one individually repudiates some sin—either a fault of impurity or of dishonesty—and the names of the judges and of the sins she must deny are all set forth in tabular form for her direction. Beyond, in thirty-four vertical columns of hieroglyphics, is set forth the "Chapter of the Last Day of the Second Month of Prōyet"—the judgment day—and into Entiu-ny's mouth is set a speech of justification addressed to the forty-two True Ones who dwell within the Hall, and even to the very bolts and hinges of the doors, to the floor, and to the walls of the place of judgment.

We are to presume that Entiu-ny comes forth from the cross-questioning of the lesser gods clear of all blemish so far as they can see, for somewhat beyond we find her in the Hall of Osiris having her heart, her eyes, and her mouth judged by the great god (pl. 78). Isis, the "Mother of the God," stands sponsor for her, while she herself faces Osiris and holds out to him the hieroglyphs of eyes and mouth. Before her the jackal-headed "Anubis, who is in charge of the Scales of the Hall," weighs the heart of Entiu-ny in the balance against a figure of the Goddess of Truth. Osiris, from his throne, says to him: "Take her eyes and her mouth into thy charge, if her heart is righteous," at which Anubis, turning his head, replies: "Her heart is righteous."

This part of the Book of the Dead has always been of interest to the

⁷ The chapters have been numbered by modern scholars—not by the ancient Egyptians. The ten full chapters in this example are 125, 38, 75, 113, 152, 132, 94, 71, 72, and 105 in that order.

modern mind. To say the least some of the forty-two commandments which must not be transgressed are peculiar, and many of them are trivial, but the whole conception of a formal judgment of one's life and the striking parable of the weighing of the heart against a symbol of truth and honesty belong to a stage of man's moral development which was far from primitive.

In what follows there is perhaps less to strike a sympathetic note in our minds. "A spell for living on the breezes of the necropolis" and "A spell for going to Heliopolis to receive a seat therein" are the titles of the next two chapters, written in red. In the first Entiu-ny identifies herself with the god of Heliopolis, Atūm, with a resulting happy and glorious state in the life to come, and in the second she recounts her journeyings "from the ends of the earth" to Atūm's innermost sacred shrine in the ancient and holy city. At this point we begin to notice a lack of coördination between the scribe who wrote the texts and the artist who drew the illustrations. In looking along the papyrus we have already passed Entiu-ny with the sail which signifies the breezes of the necropolis, standing by the back door of the Hall of the Two Truths, and near there in the upper row, is the illustration showing her kneeling with upraised hands at the doorway of her seat in Heliopolis.

The next two chapters are closely related to the Egyptian necropolis. "A spell for a man not to be ferried across to the East," with a statement of the calamities which will overtake the gods if they do so ferry him, derives its inspiration from the Egyptian's desire to be buried in the Western Desert. Following comes "A spell for the building of a house upon earth"—in other words the tomb which the gods decree for Entiu-ny—describing it and endowing it with offerings for eternity. Here again the illustrations are scattered through the upper register. We have already passed the picture of Entiu-ny standing with upraised hands before the double façade of her tomb behind which stand three "Lords of the Houses of the West," and we have not yet arrived at the picture of the interior of the funeral crypt showing the mummy lying on the bier with its birdlike soul upon its breast and the wailing goddesses at its head and feet.

A chapter called "A spell for causing one to know oneself" is hardly any contribution to philosophy. In "A spell for asking for an ink jar and a palette," Entiu-ny addresses the hawk god Ḥarakhte, and tells him that she has the writing materials of Thūt and that she uses them to copy down only what is right and good. The illustrations are over the scene of the weighing of the heart and show Entiu-ny adoring the

divine palette upon a table, behind which sits the ibis-headed god Thūt.

Next follow two "Spells for going forth by day and opening the Underworld" from which the whole book derives its name. They are queer, magical incantations in which the deceased calls upon the gods of the Underworld by name and tells them of her knowledge of them and of her ability to assume their attributes. Thus, having asserted her magic power over them, she demands that they give her protection and provisions with which she will be able to break from the fetters of the tomb. Finally, the last chapter of this collection, "A spell for opening the Underworld," empowers her and her soul to journey together through that region.

Of the remaining illustrations, for which the texts are omitted from this papyrus, there is a delightful set of four little ones in the upper register toward the end representing Entiu-ny as a peasant on the estate of Osiris in the Elysian Fields. She drives a pair of cream-colored cows to the plough, cracking her whip over their backs. She cuts a luxuriant field of wheat, far taller than her own head, with a golden sickle (pl. 77). She "rows the *nesbu*-barque like Rē" —a green canoe which she paddles on the lakes of Elysium. And finally she guards a pile of yellow grain for her master, Osiris (pl. 78).

At the end of the papyrus there are two larger pictures showing Entiu-ny in the court of the Kingdom of the Dead. In the first the god Osiris sits enthroned, with his two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, standing dutifully behind him while Entiu-ny stands before him with arms upraised in adoration. Behind her stands the weird goddess of the necropolis reaching out to grasp her, and above is written the caption, "The West receives her." Finally, to close the whole book the lady stands "adoring the Lord of Dēt, the Sovereign and Prince of the Living," the god Osiris, with her own rank and titles set forth as "the praised of those who are Lords of Thebes, the Mistress of the House, the Chantress of Amūn-Rē, King of the Gods, the Princess Entiu-ny (pl. 79).

One curious fact comes to light in this papyrus. Entiu-ny's coffins had originally been made for "The Mistress of the House, the Chantress of Amūn, King of the Gods, the Royal Princess Te-net-bekenu." The papyrus was labeled "The Going Forth by Day" and inscribed in another hand with the owner's name, "Te-net-entiu-bekheny"—apparently a variant of Te-net-bekenu—in spite of the fact that the figure itself was labeled as being Entiu-ny's. Inside the papyrus Entiu-ny is everywhere shown as the owner, but in three places she

is named as "born of Te-net-entiu-bekhenuy." Obviously, the latter's name on the outside of the scroll was a slip of some scribe. After he had rolled the papyrus up he had confused the names of the mother and daughter and had jotted down the name of the former instead of the latter. Then by coincidence the daughter was eventually buried in the mother's coffins after the names had been changed here and there on them. Everything was very casual in a Twenty-first Dynasty funeral—at least at the funeral of the very elderly Princess Entiu-ny.

While piecing together the statues of Ḥat-shepsūt and unwrapping the mummies of Meryet-Amūn and Entiu-ny we had our gang of workmen digging in the Deir el Baḥri neighborhood. Our first task was to clear thoroughly the whole of the ravine in the mouth of which we had found the tomb of Meryet-Amūn. We started with high hopes, for the entire ravine was filled with ancient chip heaps which obviously represented far more extensive quarrying than took place in that tomb. For weeks we cleared every foot of rock surface between the temple and the cliff, turning over masses of rubbish. We had hoped that the excessive amount of quarry chip meant that there were other tombs on the hillside like Meryet-Amūn's, but in the end we had to admit that the chip heaps must have come from the grading of Ḥat-shepsūt's temple. There were no other tombs.

The men were then moved to the south slopes of the 'Asāsīf valley where we cleared out about thirty tombs which had never been scientifically explored although their existence had long been known. Nearly all of them were of the Eleventh Dynasty, and many of them yielded interesting objects, but the end of the season had arrived before we could photograph and study them and they had to be reserved for a future report.

SEASON OF 1930-1931

Ever since 1922 we had known of a curious enigmatic wall built of boulders on bedrock (pl. 3), and now buried deep under the surface just east of the forecourts of the two Deir el Baḥri temples.¹ We had picked it up again to the north of Ḥat-shepsūt's avenue in 1926-27, and we had realized then that it marked the eastern limits of the court of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple as his architects had first laid it out and we had traced the probable line of the wall on our maps.² In 1929-30 and again in 1930-31 we located it under the avenue to Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple and followed it to its end still farther south.

When Neb-ḥepet-Rē first planned his temple its axis was to have run very nearly east and west, and its court was to have been a large shield-shaped plain with the temple at the apex. Grading was begun on these lines, the slopes were revetted with boulders gathered from the desert surface, and the boulder wall was built across the desert valley to inclose it. Then came changes in the plan. The most economical line for the avenue from the Nile led up the 'Asāsīf valley from the southeast, and the temple and court were eventually laid out in this new direction. The boulder wall was abandoned and, the grading having been raised, was buried deep under the final surface.

In 1912-13 we had discovered the avenue to Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple. In the upper part of the 'Asāsīf valley the lines of four walls could be distinctly traced by the stone chips lying on the surface, and following out these lines, we had discovered the northernmost of the four walls well preserved on the cultivation edge a kilometer away and we thought the position of the southernmost was clearly indicated by the cutting of the rock. Later we had found sufficient traces of the foundations of all four walls between the temple and the cultivation to be assured that all four ran parallel up the valley from the fields to the temple court.

All four walls appeared to be identical, and it was natural to assume that they had been built as parts of the same scheme. The two in the middle were only six meters apart and it was reasonable to take them as defining the actual sacred way. On either side of them the outer walls stood thirty-one or thirty-two meters away and these we took to be the outermost boundaries of the avenue, planted with trees perhaps, for we had found a row of such trees beside the northernmost

¹ *Bulletin*, XXVII (1932), March, II, p. 4, somewhat rearranged.

² See the end papers of this volume.

wall near the cultivation.³ The court of the temple had double walls around it, and there was nothing surprising, therefore, in finding double walls along the avenue.

For almost twenty years we took it for granted that Neb-ḥepet-Rē's avenue had this threefold arrangement, with a central way and two side alleys. It is an interesting case of how an idea can become fixed in one's mind. In 1922 we were working between the avenues of Ḥat-shepsūt and Neb-ḥepet-Rē near their western ends, and to our great surprise we found the northernmost wall of what we assumed to be Neb-ḥepet-Rē's avenue built on rubbish filled with scarabs and ostraca of Ḥat-shepsūt and Thut-mose III.⁴ We explained this by supposing that Sen-Mūt had dug away part of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's avenue for material to build Ḥat-shepsūt's, and that subsequently the hole so dug had been filled up with rubbish from Ḥat-shepsūt's temple and that some later king with commendable piety had restored the wall of his ancestor's temple.

But as time went on we began to feel uncomfortable about this explanation. No matter how far we dug to the eastward, we found that the northernmost of our Neb-ḥepet-Rē walls was built on much later rubbish. A reëxamination of the results of Lansing's dig in 1918-19⁵ showed that even as far as five hundred meters east of the temple the wall was still built on later fill, and our assumed restoration began to take on gigantic proportions.

Furthermore, the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rē and the contemporary tombs had used a sandstone of dark purplish tint which indicated that it must have been quarried in Aswān. The two northernmost walls, however, were of tawny-colored sandstone, probably from Gebel Silsileh where there were no quarries in the Middle Kingdom but where the Eighteenth Dynasty quarried all its sandstone. Here was another hint that the northern part of the avenue was later than the southern.

The east wall of the courtyard of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple is practically destroyed. Only a few stones remain in place and these are so far apart that it was only after long and laborious puzzling that we could make out the plan. The southernmost alley of the avenue, we discovered, was paved with Eleventh Dynasty brick. There was no trace of any such paving in the northernmost. The southernmost alley ended in a gateway directly on the axis of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple in

³ See above, page 6.

⁴ See above, page 75.

⁵ See *Bulletin*, 1920, July II.

the center of a pylon which was part of the original plan of the wall. Such a pylon had been built for the northernmost alley but only as an afterthought, subsequent to the completion of the wall. Here was still a third indication that the northern alley was not part of the original scheme. Finally we found that the narrow central alley which we had assumed to be the actual *via sacra* had no gateway at all.

We were feeling very uncomfortable about Neb-ḥepet-Rē's avenue when we took up our investigation of the boulder wall in 1930-31 and to our surprise discovered that the builders had left a gap in it exactly the width of what we had been calling the southern alley of the causeway.

With this lead the whole matter was made clear. It is only the southern alley which is the causeway to Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple. The northern alley, built parallel to it, is later, and the Gebel Silsileh sandstone in it and the Thut-mose scarabs under it show that it could not antedate his reign. Now Thut-mose III built a shrine to Ḥat-Ḥor in the northern part of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's temple, and in the courtyard in front of this shrine he built a structure which we assume to have been his *sed*-festival kiosk. These monuments seem to have been called Djeser-akhet and to have been of considerable importance among the temples of the latter part of his reign.⁶ The northern alley leads directly to them, and when all the circumstances were considered, it seemed impossible to escape the conclusion that this alley was actually that of Thut-mose III to Djeser-akhet.

Deir el Baḥri thus had three great roads leading up to it, and all three were practically parallel. To the south was Neb-ḥepet-Rē's leading to his temple, Akh-isut; beside it came that of Thut-mose III to Djeser-akhet; and to the north was Ḥat-shepsūt's to Djeser-djeseru.

While we were working on the two temples and trying to unravel our problems there, we had a gang of workmen clearing out the few remaining Eleventh Dynasty tombs in the vicinity of Deir el Baḥri which we had not yet explored. Just at the close of the 1929-30 season we found that a pile of quarry-chip from the Saïte tombs near Mentuem-ḥēt's pylons covered the court and the façade of an Eleventh Dynasty tomb in the low hill beside the temple avenue. Since the digging season was drawing to an end and the first day or two of work showed that the tomb was decorated, it seemed safer to leave it buried until the following autumn. Fortunately we did so, for it

⁶ Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê*, vol. II, pp. 78 ff.

turned out to have an enormously wide forecourt and a porticoed façade with nine entrances.

If we did not add a masterpiece to the already known examples of Egyptian painting, we did at least discover a very curious document for the history of Egyptian art. Djar, the owner of the tomb given the number 366, was a Custodian of the King's Harim, and from his title as well as from the size of his tomb he must have been a man of considerable wealth. Clearly he was a contemporary of King Neb-hepet-Rē, of Queen Neferu, of Dagi, and of Khety, all of whom employed sculptors of no mean ability, attracted to Thebes when it became the capital of Egypt. Yet Djar was content to employ the last of the local country painters, such as had served his bucolic forefathers when Thebes was an unknown little provincial village. One must see the tomb of Djar to realize the monstrous ugliness with which the Upper Egyptian surrounded himself in the generations between the fall of the Memphite kingdom and Neb-hepet-Rē's conquest of Egypt for the benefit of Thebes.

The women who work in Djar's kitchens are misshapen bright yellow creatures (pl. 17), and the donkeys loaded with sacks of grain from his harvests are weird blue-gray quadrupeds. The attempt to paint two cows yoked to the plough got the artist completely befuddled. He wanted to paint one of them red and one of them black and white, but he got their eight legs mixed up in ridiculous confusion. In spite of his lack of technical skill, however, the village painter had a sort of rough-and-ready, countrified humor. When he drew the roping of a big bull he caught one of the herdsmmen just as he received a kick in the shin which sent him reeling into a companion's arms (fig. 11). When he drew a fisherman diving into the river to haul up the net, he showed him landing headfirst on the tail of a crocodile. Two other scenes are crude but interesting views of life by the riverside. We see the fishermen in the shallows with their clothes wrapped up around their waists, plunging wicker fish traps into the water or picking the fish out through the hole in the top of the trap. And in an unfortunately damaged picture we get the building of a ship on the river bank.

The Egyptian was an optimistic creature, with a never-failing trust in his descendants. He built such tombs as that of Djar; he pictured on its walls a life throughout the world to come such as he had known here; he never doubted that his soul would live in his paintings and his statues for all eternity; and yet he knew that he must intrust his future existence to the conscience and the piety of his successors on this earth. On them he depended for daily food and drink.

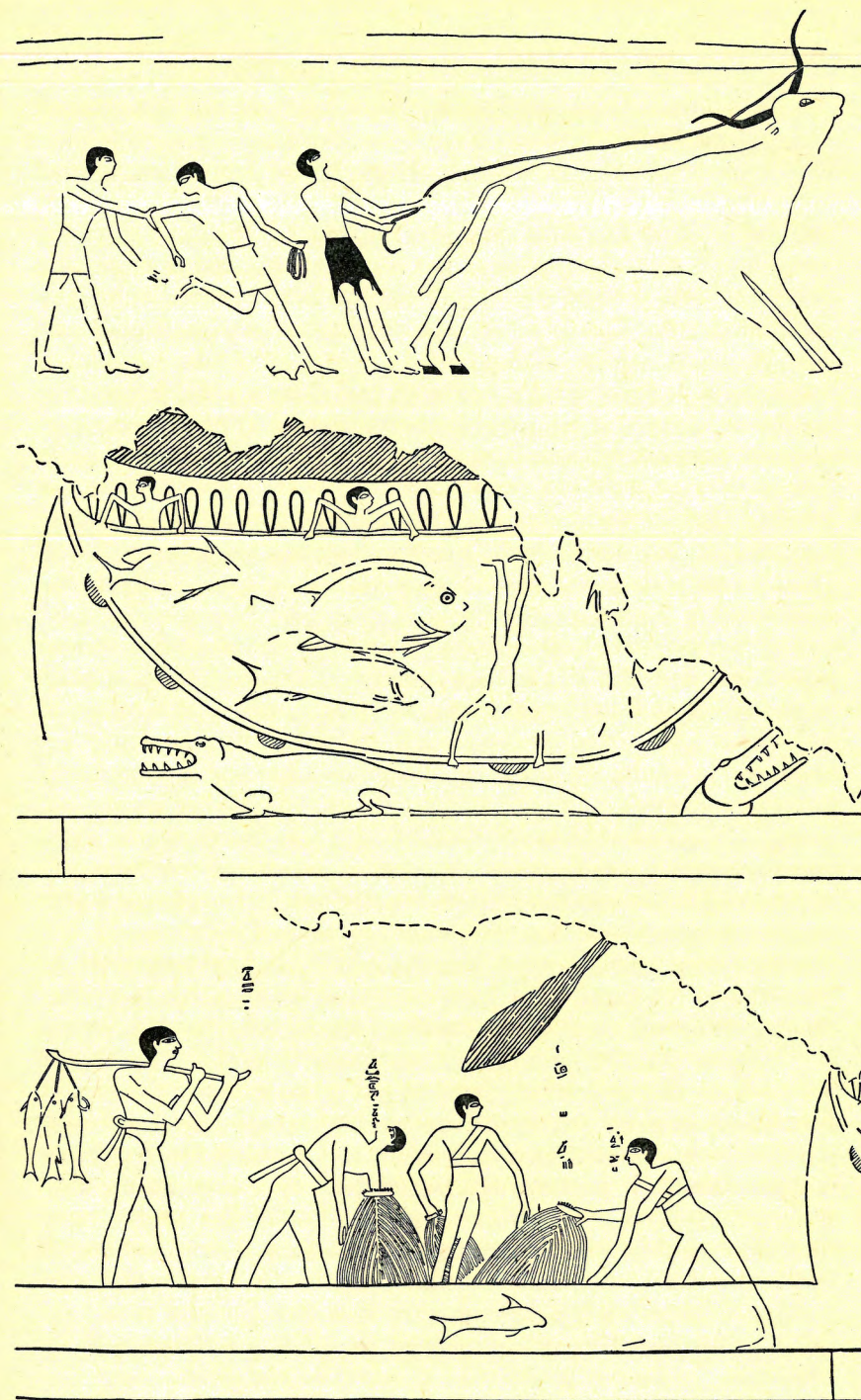


FIG. 11. THREE PAINTINGS IN THE TOMB OF DJAR

In 1930-31 we found the altar which one of Djar's neighbors had made for his tomb. In this case the altar was a low limestone table with three rectangular basins connected by little conduits and draining off through a spout in front. Into these basins were to be poured libations of water and wine to quench the thirst and warm the heart of the dead, and in this instance the departed's trust in his family was well placed—for a while at least. Wine had been poured into these basins and as the wine had gone sour it had corroded the stone until the surface was all rough and pitted.

Along the hillside in either direction from the tomb of Djar the burial places of his contemporaries in Neb-ḥepet-Rē's reign yielded us some interesting glimpses of the daily life of Thebes four thousand years ago.

Towels extraordinarily like our bath towels of to-day were used then. In one tomb our workmen found two of them among the torn-up bandages (pl. 37), and at first we were puzzled to know whether to class them as of the Eleventh Dynasty or of some later period. Then we recalled another towel which we had found in the tomb of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's soldiers,⁷ and we realized that such towels actually were four thousand years old. They appear to have been made about fifty-two centimeters, or a cubit, long and forty-five centimeters wide, but when they wore out along the edges the housewife cut off the frayed selvages and hemmed them. In some cases the whole surface was uniformly covered with knots. The towel from the soldier's tomb shows this same allover pattern of knots like our modern dotted Swiss, but the best of the three examples we now know of, has alternate zig-zag and straight lines of knots for its whole length.

We got more than one peep into the dressing rooms of those days. The dead usually took with them a mirror—we found parts of the handles, but the copper mirrors themselves had usually been stolen for the metal. And we have often found boxes for little alabaster perfume bottles or pots for eye paint. In one of these new tombs, however, we found a piece of the knotty branch of some hardwood trees, about as long and as thick as a person's finger. Both ends had been rubbed off smooth—but for what reason there was never a hint. Then we found three more such pieces of wood lying with a toilet box, a perfume vase, and a mirror handle, where some ancient thief had thrown them out into a tomb court. Finally, beside the entrance of another plundered tomb we unearthed several bundles of false hair and two little baskets containing more of these bits of knotty branches,

⁷ See above, page 123.

some berries, lichen, roots, a coil of grass, and some unground malachite for eye paint wrapped in a bit of cloth (pl. 37). Twice we had found these bits of wood with articles of the toilet, and the lichen and berries with them the second time suggested that the wood had been aromatic. It is obvious that the lady of the Eleventh Dynasty bought these little sticks of sweet-scented wood for perfumes which she made by grinding off the ends and collecting the powder from them to sprinkle in her clothes or hair.

While we are on the subject of hairdressing, there is one extraordinary case of the survival of a style throughout four thousand years that is well worth a note. Most of the Eleventh Dynasty tombs at Thebes contained dolls. Some of them already mentioned in these reports⁸ undoubtedly represented dancing girls and were put in the tomb in order that their spirits might while away the time of the Theban grandees in the tedious hours of eternity. Others look more like children's toys and actually had seen hard use, although they too may have found a burial as representations of dancing girls rather than as children's playthings.

They are barbarous looking things, whittled out of thin paddles of wood, gaudily painted, and with great mops of hair made of strings of little beads of black mud ending in elongated blobs (pl. 38). Strange as they may look, they are not one whit more uncouth than a modern doll bought in 1931 at Amadeh in Nubia which has each thin plait of hair tipped with a blob of clay. And these blobs of clay are no childish fancy, for the well-dressed woman of Dēr, the capital of Nubia, ends off every one of her coal-black tresses with just such a lump of yellow clay. The styles of Thebes four thousand years ago are still to be met with in Nubia to-day.

There is one puzzle which some one should try to work out. With the toilet box and the aromatic wood there was a pair of bone castanets (pl. 40). The type is well enough known, with tips shaped like hands and at the top holes, the edges of which have been worn by the strings which once bound the castanets together. With the baskets of aromatic wood were found two ivory objects, common enough in all Middle Kingdom cemeteries⁹ and yet to my mind not perfectly understood by us to-day. Some are plain, and it seems to me that they must have been simply "bones" like those rattled in a negro minstrel show, but others—and one of those found by us belongs among them—are

⁸ See above, page 72.

⁹ For instance at Lisht; see *Bulletin*, October, 1914, p. 220, and fig. 11; November, 1921, part II, p. 18, and figs. 16, 17.

engraved with weird and fearsome monsters such as inhabited the gloomy and dangerous regions of the nether world. Two such wands in the Metropolitan Museum¹⁰ are inscribed: "Protection by Night and Protection by Day"—strange attribute for an ordinary bone clapper. In fact, these are obviously something more than clappers, but our modern habit of calling such objects "magic wands" does not get us to a real explanation. They remain one of the puzzles left us by the ancient Egyptian.

Late that winter Baraize decided to rebuild the two lower porches of the temple, and had to expose their back walls down to the bedrock under the middle terrace. More than half of this terrace, we had already discovered was built and filled over part of the court of Neb-ḥepet-Rē's earlier temple. The wall of this earlier court could be seen disappearing under the Ḥat-shepsūt structure beneath the southwest corner and then reappearing diagonally across the court at the northeast corner, eighty-nine meters away, and what whetted our interest was that exactly where it went under the later terrace and again where it came out there was an Eleventh Dynasty tomb beside it. If there were other tombs between they would have been undisturbed for thirty-five hundred years, and the opportunity to look for them was given us by the rebuilding of the temple porches.

We undertook the excavation behind the north porch and easily picked up the buried Eleventh Dynasty wall deep under the terrace (pl. 3). We then turned the men west and methodically cut a vast trench eight meters deep right across Ḥat-shepsūt's temple—but it led us to no tombs. It is typical of the contrariness of things archaeological that the only tombs beside that wall happened to have been the two which had tempted us, exactly at the points where Ḥat-shepsūt's temple crossed it. However, you cannot dig in the Theban necropolis without learning something.

In the first place, in our trench we found further traces of the brick chapel which Amen-ḥotpe I and his mother, Neferet-iry, had built about 1550 B.C. and which Sen-Mūt had razed when he built the temple for Ḥat-shepsūt.¹¹ The remains of Amen-ḥotpe's temple were meager but they were sufficient, with the vestiges which we had unearthed before, to establish accurately its location and size. And the little structure was not without interest in the history of Deir el Baḥri. There had been an avenue of free-standing sandstone Osiride

¹⁰ The first referred to in the last footnote, and another from the Theodore M. Davis Collection, M.M.A. 30.8.218.

¹¹ See above, page 88.

statues leading up to the temple of Neb-ḥepet-Rē—the earliest of the Deir el Baḥri series.¹² Such an avenue also must have led to Amen-ḥotpe's temple. Naville had found one of the statues in 1904,¹³ and we had recently found fragments of others. From their crowns and from their inscriptions it is obvious that they also had stood in two rows, one on the north and the other on the south facing each other, without question on either side of the temple approach. Sen-Mūt, when he built the third temple at Deir el Baḥri had chosen sphinxes to line the approach, but the Osiride statue motive, now transferred to the columns on the upper porch, had been retained as a striking element in the temple's exterior (fig. 12).

Meanwhile the statues and the pieces of statues of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt were presenting a horde of problems to us. If there is one puzzle which above all others is not solvable by rule or formula, it is that of restoration, and these statues brought the problem up in its most acute form.

In a very literal way they were elements in the architecture of the temple. All were a part of Sen-Mūt's original conception. Probably none were to be regarded as isolated works, with the possible exception of the marble statue which we believe may have stood in the Queen's Chapel. The others were to be seen in series, flanking the doorways, lining the sacred way, or forming the columns of the porches. Conceived for such purposes, they were designed with a lofty serenity. But shattered and mutilated as they are, their serenity is uncomfortably disturbed. On the other hand, their very simplicity has lent itself readily to restoration. A templet made on one shoulder and reversed supplied the shoulder missing on the other side. A cast of a detail from one statue could be fitted to another with hardly an alteration. Fortunately, the features were intact on all except the large seated granite statue, and even of this last the outlines were sufficiently preserved to make it possible to model the missing parts with little or no uncertainty.

Restoration was absolutely necessary in the building up of the fragments, but so long as the restoration remained visible the simple, austere masses were confused and we ended by painting the restored parts until they blended in with the original. Now, at first glance, one sees the statues as they were set up in the temple. With a little attention one will discover the restorations, but lest there be any doubt,

¹² See above, page 130.

¹³ Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, vol. I, pp. 26, 60, 69, and pl. XXV a.

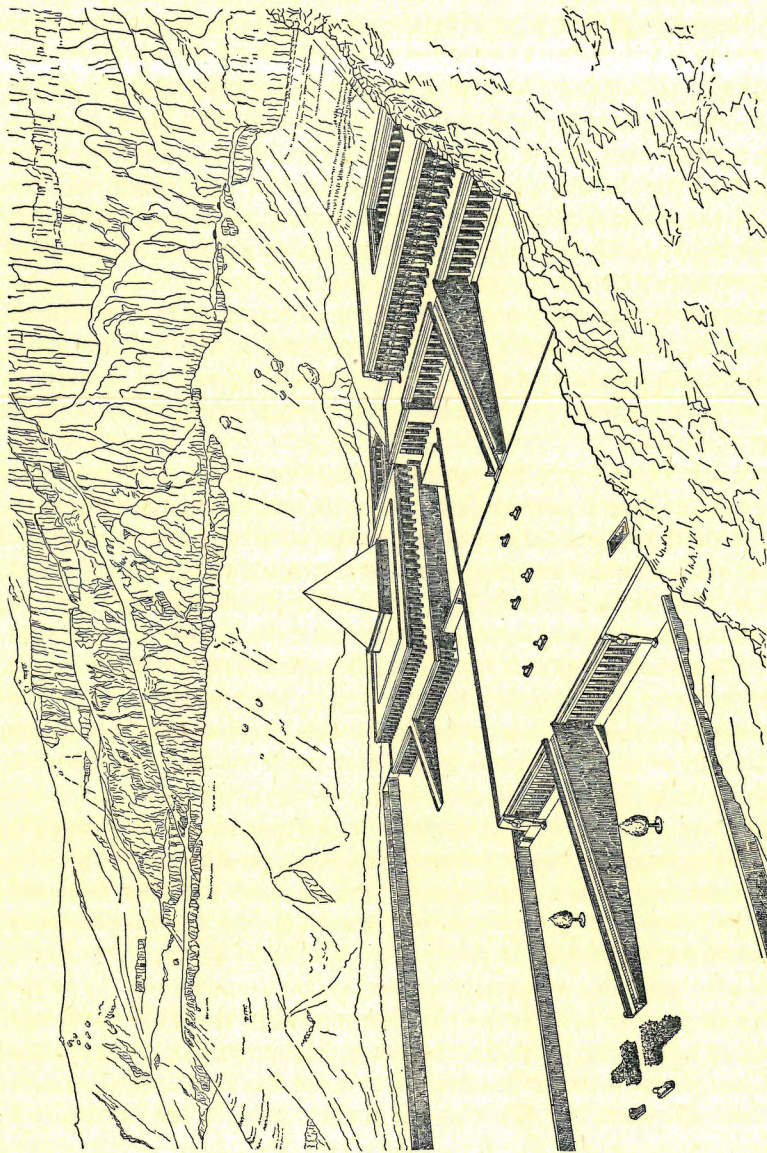


FIG. 12. THE TEMPLES AT DEIR EL BAḤRĪ AS THEY APPEARED IN THE TIME OF ḤAT-SHEPSŪT

and to make our work doubly clear, photographs with all new parts shown in white have been placed in the gallery.

In the field our first job during the 1930-31 season was to sort over fragments of sandstone. Already we had identified several fragments of a life-size sandstone statue of her nurse suckling Ḥat-shepsūt.¹⁴ As luck would have it, we found very little more than in our preliminary sorting, but among the few new pieces which turned up there were some which gave us a word or two more of the inscription. The face of the nurse is gone irretrievably, and of her body there is but the merest suggestion. She sat, holding on her knee a miniature adult king. Perhaps this queer perversion of reality is not so much a naïve representation of infancy as a way of avoiding the portrayal of majesty as a helpless baby, a conclusion which is made all the more likely by the presence of an illogical pedestal suspended under the miniature king's feet with the nine bows of Egypt's hereditary enemies under the soles of his sandals and the emblem of united Egypt in front.

But it is not always the most striking monuments that have the most curious tales connected with them. It seems that there has long been a flake of limestone in the Ambras Collection in Vienna¹⁵—Hayes first called my attention to it—on which an ancient scribe had jotted down an inscription in vertical columns. Comparing this inscription with one on the statue, I have little doubt that the ostrakon gives the preliminary draft for the statue inscription drawn up by the scribe who was directing the sculptor. On the statue the inscription is incomplete, and it gives us a curious feeling to find ourselves filling in the gaps from the original rough draft after a lapse of thirty-five hundred years.

Doing so we read:¹⁶ "May the King Ma'et-ka-Rē' (Ḥat-shepsūt) and Osiris, First of the Westerners, [the Great God] Lord of Abydos, be gracious and give a mortuary offering [of cakes and beer, beef and fowl, and thousands of everything] good and pure, and the sweet breath of the north wind to the spirit of [the Chief Nurse who suckled the Mistress of the Two Lands, Sit-Rē', called Yen, justified]." On the other side of the statue another inscription states that this statue was "made as a favor by King Ma'et-ka-Rē' (Ḥat-shepsūt), given life, for the Chief Nurse who suckled [the Mistress of the Two Lands, etc.]."

Where the statue of Sit-Rē', the nurse, stood in the temple is a

¹⁴ See above, page 161.

¹⁵ Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1887, p. 183.

¹⁶ Words supplied from the Vienna ostrakon are in square brackets. Apparently the only difference between the two inscriptions is the addition of the phrase "sweet breath of the north wind" to the statue to fill up an unexpectedly long column.

problem. It might have been appropriately set up in the chapel of the goddess Ḥat-Ḥor, the divine nurse of the kings, or it may have found a place in the porch dedicated to the divine birth of Ḥat-shepsūt. In any case, Sit-Rē^c must be classed with those favorites of the queen of whom the foremost was Sen-Mūt, her architect and above all the chief of her palace camarilla.

Of fragments of sandstone sphinxes we had accumulated literally several tons. There were gaily painted bits of headdresses, there were big sections of mutilated yellow faces with brilliant blue beards and mouths once serenely smiling, there were large slices of the sides of lion bodies, and there were pieces of white bases with incised yellow decorations. Some had come from the clearing of the quarry north of the avenue between 1926 and 1929. Other fragments had been found in the hollow south of the quarry in 1922-23, and one pair of fore-paws had been found by Lansing south of the avenue and at least five hundred meters east of the temple in 1918-19. We should count, too, a head and a leg taken to Berlin by Lepsius in 1845, without question from among those seen in the quarry by Wilkinson in 1827.

And yet, although these different sources gave us parts of at least eighteen heads, sections of more than ten chests with their inscriptions and of as many forelegs, and quantities of parts of bodies and bases, the sandstone sphinxes must go down among our disappointments. We could not come anywhere near completing a single one. In the case of the granite statues and sphinxes we had had a great deal more than half of all the bits that made up our jigsaw puzzles. Here, of all the pieces into which the sandstone sphinxes had been broken, we had but the most meager fraction. Numerous as our fragments were, they had to represent about one hundred and twenty sphinxes, and it is hardly surprising that none of the figures was anywhere near complete.

When, just over a hundred years ago, Sir Gardiner Wilkinson made his map of Thebes the desert surface had scarcely been altered by man since the days of antiquity. The last thirty years, however, have seen a great change. The road to Deir el Baḥri has been ground by countless carriage wheels, and more recently has undergone the more rapid wear of automobiles on its unpaved surface and the digging of the road gangs along its sides. But even to-day one can vaguely see that there were sphinx bases along the avenue, and photographs taken twenty years ago show them more distinctly. Without much doubt they could be identified with reasonable accuracy a century ago, and we may take Wilkinson's map as very good evidence of what could then be seen on the desert surface.

Apparently the avenue from the gate of Deir el Baḥri, eastward for five hundred and fifty meters to a second gate now destroyed,¹⁷ was lined on either side with sphinx bases at intervals of about ten meters. That would make over a hundred sphinxes on the avenue before one arrived at the temple court. From the court itself the sphinx bases were entirely removed in the days of Thut-mose III, but here they stood probably at no greater intervals than on the avenue and there must have been twenty others here, and of all these we had found fragments of scarcely a score.

As to the fate of the vast quantity of missing pieces, we can make some guesses. To begin with, the quarry on the north side of the avenue and the hollow on the south just outside the court were the natural places for the wrecking gangs to throw the fragments from the temple. We could assume then, that most of the fragments of sandstone sphinxes which we had found with the temple statues in those two holes came from the court. This assumption became a practical certainty when we were able to fit uraei from the court on many of these heads. However only a very few of the sphinxes from the avenue could have been conveniently rolled into these hollows. The natural place to have disposed of them would have been further down to the east in an area subsequently filled in by Thut-mose III, and it was in digging in this fill that Lansing found the well-preserved pair of sphinx paws in 1918-19. Deep under the 'Asāsīf, then, probably lie most of the avenue sphinxes where they were buried shortly after their destruction. The sphinxes from the courtyard, thrown as they had been into the quarry, were less fortunate. Their burial left to nature was slower, and the exposed fragments were a handy source for any one looking for sandstone in antiquity. Even as late as Graeco-Roman times we know that there were masons at work on them, cutting drums of columns from the larger pieces.

Originally there was space in the lower court for at least seven pairs of sandstone sphinxes lining the way from the gate across to the papyrus pools at the foot of the stairway. Actually we discovered thirteen uraei from their heads in the court or in the rubbish from it and as we have stated already, some of these fitted heads from the quarry. In every case the heads to which they fitted wore either the rounded white *khat* or the long wig striped with green and red, and these we may be certain were the two types of headdresses worn by the sphinxes within the temple inclosure. A few fragments of heads clothed in the *nemes*—the headdress of the kneeling statues—were

¹⁷ The sparse ruins were dug out in 1931-32 by Hauser.

found, and with them must be classed the head in Berlin. These, we believe, came from the avenue.

It was a gorgeous way up which the procession of Amūn passed. On either hand a long row of great sphinxes sat high upon bases three meters long and almost a meter wide with a frieze of bound captives around each one. It was an endless pageant of the lion-bodied personification of the might of Pharaoh stretched in superb strength over the subjugated cities of the world. In its brilliancy of color under the Egyptian skies, the long vista must have been a magnificent reiteration of a claim to almost superhuman power. And then suddenly we realize the sham of it all. This bearded, conquering hero was actually a woman, precariously held on the throne by a small court camarilla. Probably she had never seen a conquering army, and yet she portrayed herself trampling under foot even Assyria in the far distant and almost unknown north—a boast which even the conqueror Thutmose III was not justified in making.

The temple of Deir el Baḥri was both a shrine of Amūn and the mortuary chapel for the service of the tomb of the queen, and it was appropriate, therefore, that Ḥat-shepsūt dead should be shown in the guise of Osiris, the ruler of the dead, with all the prominence possible. Scarcely any hint of the existence of such representations of the queen had remained after her proscription by Thutmose III, and the discovery of their existence was among the most interesting results of our work.¹⁸ We had been able to show how one of the two colossal Osiride statues stood originally flanking the extreme ends of the lowest porches. We had also demonstrated how the topmost porch was actually one gigantic row of such statues, stretching right across the whole temple and visible to the populace from the moment they crossed the Nile over by Karnak. Many of their component blocks had been shattered and most had been dumped into the deepest parts of the quarry where they had lain so bogged in pools of rain water that they had gradually rotted away, and the few presentable pieces were divided between the Cairo and Metropolitan Museums. To the former went two nearly perfect heads already figured in these reports.¹⁹ To the Metropolitan Museum came two fragmentary heads and a pair of shoulders on which it was possible to mount a third head from a similar statue of the same row (pl. 55).

Another series, smaller than all the others but still twice life size (pl. 56), must have stood in tall niches still existing in the back of the

¹⁸ See above, page 141.

¹⁹ See the Cairo head on plate 55.

uppermost peristyle court of the temple.²⁰ The statues were right in size, and in the backs of the niches the decoration, or rather the blanks in the decoration, practically gave the silhouettes of the statues as they had once stood.

However, a difficulty unexpectedly arose when we came to take a census of our fragments. While there were only ten niches we found we had traces of more than ten statues, and many an hour was spent by all of us exploring every trace of column and wall for the position of another series until the very end of the season. We were packing up and hastily finishing those things which we ought to have done earlier, and it looked as though the puzzle was to be one important question for which we were not going to find any sort of answer.

Our most pressing task was, for the moment, in the sanctuary of Amūn. Wilkinson was copying the unpublished scenes on the walls and there were some fallen stones to be replaced and a cupboard, masked behind a Ptolemaic restoration, to be cleared and repaired. For these last two jobs M. Baraize of the Service des Antiquités had lent us a mason.

The sun rises early toward the first of May and far enough around to the north to penetrate right into the sanctuary, and in order to see the mason's work in the best possible light I went up to the temple one morning before breakfast. It was a question that day of the stones fallen from the east end wall and when I went into the chamber, usually black and gloomy, the sun was flooding the whole west wall and the fallen stones from the east wall which lay on the floor. In that light a curious fact was to be seen. From the four corners of the room something had been cut away. The stones were still rough, both those in place on the west and the more easily examined fallen stones. Then I recalled a curious feature on the two side walls which Wilkinson and I had already noticed—on neither did the decorations go all the way into the corners. Something had originally masked them. Suddenly I remembered the niches outside in the peristyle with their traces of the cut out statues and their statue silhouettes in the blanks of the decoration, and the whole problem solved itself. Statues had been cut out of the four corners of the sanctuary just as they had been cut out of the niches.

A hasty return to our storerooms cleared up all doubts. A new count established the fact that we had traces of exactly fourteen statues—ten for the niches and four for the sanctuary. Miss Clark at this point reminded me that we had already noted how four of our statues

²⁰ See above, page 91.

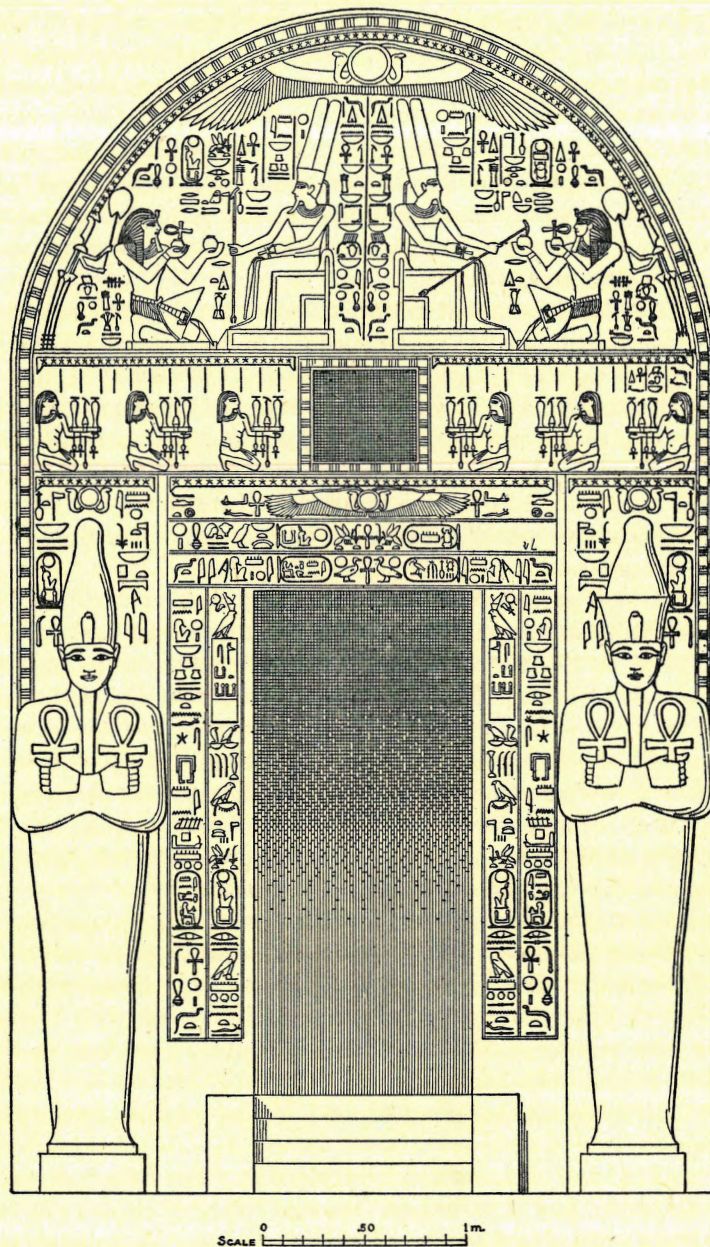


FIG. 13. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WEST WALL OF THE SANCTUARY
AT DEIR EL BAḤRI

differed from the others in having rose-pink faces, instead of red or yellow, and in having been varnished. In the sanctuary pink was used for flesh tints and varnish had been applied over it. The sanctuary walls showed the thickness of the stone courses of the missing statues, and two of our heads had course lines at exactly the proper places. Finally, Wilkinson assembling all the data on the statues drew reconstructions of two of them and, applying them to his reconstructions of the west wall of the sanctuary, showed how completely they would fit into the decorations (fig. 13).

Thus was another detail added to our knowledge of Sen-Mūt's concept for the temple of Deir el Baḥri. He was providing a resting place for the sacred barque of Amūn during the annual visit of the god at the time of the "Feast of the Valley." The main sanctuary chamber was a long and lofty room with a stand for the barque in the center, and on either wall there was portrayed the ritual which Ḥat-shepsūt was to perform for the god on his visit. The offerings made, the sanctuary was locked and the barque was left within guarded by these four great serene figures wearing the crowns of the North and of the South—Ḥat-shepsūt as Osiris.

One interesting point arises regarding the portraiture of these heads. The best preserved (pl. 56) differ markedly from the other statues in the temple. The face is rather long and narrow, particularly the nose. It is a very different conception from the portraits with round faces, receding chins, and high-bridged noses and the reason, I believe, lies in their date. The sanctuary was probably the first part of the structure to be finished and these statues may well have been carved by an older sculptor who still adhered to the traditions of the reigns of Ḥat-shepsūt's predecessors.

Meantime, while the sorting of statues was going on, our excavations were in progress. We had decided on clearing the end of the hill of Sheikh 'Abd el Ḳurneh which made the southern side of the Deir el Baḥri bay of cliffs to round out our work in this part of the necropolis and the top of the hill where Sen-Mūt had dug another, public tomb known for nearly a century.²¹

By the middle of December we had a large gang of men working among the fissured crags and the vast chip heaps on the hillside. The tomb was to have been enormous—it has one of the largest chapels in the necropolis—and a formidable mound of quarry chip lay in front of it. Davies had already reported having seen near by fragments of a

²¹ See above, page 149.

quartzite sarcophagus with Sen-Mūt's name on it, and our men began gathering up daily other pieces from in front of the tomb. Eventually we traced these fragments to the back corridor of the chapel, and there is no doubt that it was here that the sarcophagus had been broken up. The chapel had been completed and decorated. The sarcophagus—significantly designed as almost a replica of royal sarcophagi of the time—had been finished to its last detail of carving, polishing, and painting and had been moved into the mouth of the passage leading to the crypt where it was to rest. But the crypt passage had scarcely been begun when Sen-Mūt started his other tomb, and the sarcophagus had, perforce, remained in full view in the open chambers.

Another incident in Sen-Mūt's tomb making turned up one day in clearing the chip heaps. A youth scarcely twenty and an old woman with a terrible case of tuberculosis of the spine had died while the stonecutters were still quarrying out the tomb. Probably they were relations of the great man or at least they lived on some of Sen-Mūt's farms. In any case they were buried in the quarrymen's chip just in front of the tomb court, the youth simply bundled up in a mat and the old woman in a plain deal coffin laid carelessly on its side among the boulders. The old woman had beside her a little container for black eye paint with its swiveled lid held in place by the stick she had painted her eyes with, and on her finger was a scarab bearing the name of Sen-Mūt's ward and Ḥat-shepsūt's daughter, the little Princess Nefru-Rē'.

This was to be my last season in Egypt for I was elected Director of the Museum by the Board of Trustees early in the following winter, and seven years later was forced to give up all regular work because of my health. For several years Lansing and Hayes were digging at Lisht and when they came back to Luxor they dug at first down near the cultivation,²² but in 1935-36 they had installed the gang at Deir el Baḥri once more. Sen-Mūt again was the chief character in their reports and his father and mother and others of their kind, and even a horse and a monkey, filled their letters and reports,²³ until at last rearrangements in the Museum itself took them too.

But meantime, during the spring of 1931 a fact learned from the great trench across the Ḥat-shepsūt temple was the unexpected circumstance from which we learned that some one had dug before us,

²² See above, page 13.

²³ *Bulletin*, XXXII (1937), January, II, p. 4.

starting in front of the middle porch dedicated to the expedition to Punt and working eastward to a little beyond the foot of the stairway to the upper terrace. The digging must have taken place about the beginning of the Ptolemaic period for the trench was filled with Ptolemaic rubbish, but why it was dug is a puzzle, unless some one had noticed a subsidence in the pavement along the margin of the filled area and had hoped to discover a subterranean structure. In any case the ancient excavation had an unforeseen value for science for the collapsed columns and architraves of the Punt colonnade had been rolled into it and there buried. Quantities of architectural fragments thus became available for the restoration which the Egyptian Government has since undertaken.

Among the blocks of stone which we retrieved from our trench there were several pieces of the balustrades from the stairway leading to the upper terrace and—more welcome still—important fragments of the two newel posts. We had found and reërected some years previously the newel posts from the bottom of the lower stairway,²⁴ and we believed that our two small limestone sphinxes of 1928 were probably from the top posts of the same stairs.²⁵ It was satisfying now to be able to gather together fragments enough to show at least the motive used on the upper stairway.

The balustrade had a rounded top down which crawled a vast serpent in innumerable sinuous curves (fig. 14). The serpent was probably Buto, the goddess of the North, rearing her hooded cobra-head at the foot of the stairs, and perched upon her back was Beḥ-dety, the hawk god of Edfu who typified the South. Buto's head had been painstakingly chiseled away by Akh-en-Aten, we must suppose, when all the gods were proscribed except the sun god. But the hawks were all forms of Horus, and Horus was a manifestation of the sun, and therefore these hawks escaped the proscription. Later accidents befell them, to be sure, but we were able to gather together large portions of the bodies of the two great monumental birds and pieces of their heads—enough to give us the data for a reconstruction.

Puzzles abound in archaeology, and two were left to us by the later Egyptians who were buried in the Eleventh Dynasty tombs near that of Djar. Some one who lived under the Empire had been provided with three curious little terracotta stands (pl. 89) of which we can give no satisfactory explanation. They were to be placed against the wall, for their backs are in every instance plain. In front each has a

²⁴ See above, page 106.

²⁵ See above, page 172.

panel on which is crudely stamped a naked girl standing in a papyrus canoe and holding an enormous bunch of flowers in either hand. In the corners one can just recognize that hideous, bow-legged, dwarfed demon, Bēs, who curiously enough played so important a part as a household spirit among the ancient Egyptians. Below the panel there

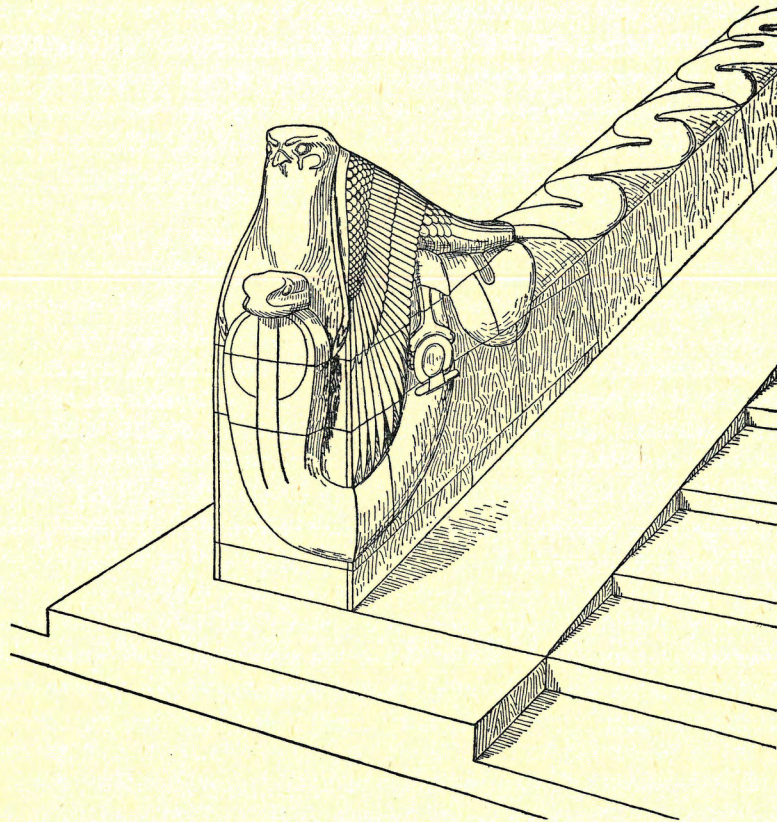


FIG. 14. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BALUSTRADE OF THE UPPER STAIRWAY
AT DEIR EL BAḤRĪ

is an intricate lattice of flower forms. Tops, sides, and fronts of the stands are daubed with gaudy colors. Clearly such little stands were turned out in quantities, and these particular ones, even if made expressly for the tomb, must have been copies in cheap terracotta of more expensive articles of actual furniture.

Another problem is far more interesting. Among the Late Dynastic jars containing embalming materials buried in front of the tomb of

Djar, there was one almost covered from top to bottom with four long columns of inscriptions written in black ink (pl. 96). Many of the signs are without question Egyptian hieratic. Others are less easily identified, and the meaning of the whole has so far defied solution by any one to whom we have shown the jar or photographs, including even Professor Torrey to whom most Oriental languages are simple. Our only hope is that this note will fall into the hands of some one who has the key to the puzzle.

THE MUMMY OF WAḤ, 1936-1939

Such had been my last season in Egypt, but even so, there was still another job begun in Luxor of which I had not yet seen the end.¹

A very interesting suggestion was made to me one day in New York in 1936 by David Rosen, well known for his work on the restoration of works of art. He and Arthur Kopp, then the Museum's chemist, wanted to take x-ray photographs of some of the mummies in the Department of Egyptian Art. The idea was not entirely new, for such photographs have been taken before, but Rosen and Kopp wanted to try out a portable apparatus and to obtain some practice with exposures.

I did not believe that we would learn much from the photographing of the Ptolemaic mummies, since the thick layers of pitch on them promised to make almost impenetrable barriers to the rays, and this turned out to be the case when experiments were made on the Roman mummy of Artemidora. On the mummy of Ḥepy-ʿAnkhtifi of the Twelfth Dynasty from Meir, we had found some years ago a very good set of jewelry, and therefore I suggested two other, contemporary mummies from Meir as interesting subjects for photography. The very first pictures of one of them, Ukh-hotpe, showed beads inside the bandages, but since the body had completely collapsed inside its thick shell of linen, the beads were scattered hither and yon. The mummy of Khnum-hotpe, also from Meir, was successfully photographed even through the sides of his wooden coffin and through the thick layers of linen, but it turned out that he had no adornments except the faience "broad collar" always visible on the outside of his bandages.

Then the mummy of WaḤ was brought into the improvised studio. We had discovered his unlooted tomb in 1920 at Thebes.² His bandages were so clean and neat that we had always hesitated to disturb him on the very slim chance that he wore anything of interest under his wrappings.

Now, however, the first photograph showed that we should have been rewarded far more than we could have expected had we removed them. His neck, his chest, and his wrists were loaded with the jewelry fashionable in Thebes about 2000 B.C. Rosen and Kopp thereupon constructed special plate holders for a row of films which would make possible full-length photographs at a single exposure, first from the

back and then from the front, which were published in the Museum's *Bulletin*. From them it could be seen that WaḤ was a young man of the normal Theban type, wearing an unusual number of ornaments. In fact, for one whom we had thought, from the size of his tomb and from his coffin, to be a rather humble person, he was buried with an extraordinary wealth of jewelry.

Obviously we had a long hard job to do unwrapping WaḤ, and it would be some time before we could find a chance for it. We had to unwrap the mummy, first preparing a form to which we could transfer the mask and the outermost bandages, in order that we might preserve the appearance, at least, of an Eleventh Dynasty Egyptian as he was prepared for burial. We placed x-ray photographs in the case beside the mummy so that the visitor to the Museum might get some hint of what was inside, but it was not until 1939 that Hayes and I had the curtain ready to go up on our last act.

Nearly twenty years had gone by since we had first seen WaḤ's mummy. Now our new notes began with a statement that the outermost piece of linen (pl. 31) was a shawl, wrapped kilt-like about the mummy, with its fringed edge around his waist tucked in in front. It had often been to the laundry; it is pink now but had doubtless once been a henna red; and down the front are two very washed-out lines of hieroglyphs, written in black, which read: "Linen of the temple protecting Nyṯankh-Sekhmet, the justified." What temple was meant, or who the man Nyṯankh-Sekhmet may have been, we probably shall never know, for he is not mentioned on anything else we ever found.

After we had taken off the kilt we unwound a dozen bandages spiraling up and down the mummy, each about as wide as one's hand and several nearly twelve meters long. Then came sheets wrapped around, or big pieces of linen folded as pads and laid on to fill the mummy out until it was practically a cylinder. Later we came to a layer of bandages streaked with the very thin dregs of a pot of resin, probably smeared on with incantations for WaḤ's continued existence, for its purpose must have been magic—it could have had no preservative effect. A score more of sheets and pads were then unwrapped, and WaḤ, from having been a very stout party, was becoming more and more slender, and the face which had been peeking out of thick folds of linen now appeared as part of a stucco mask extending down to his waist.

The pinched little face was gilded, and on it were painted a thin moustache and, around the jowls, scant whiskers. A highly conven-

¹ *Bulletin*, XXXI (1936), p. 274, and XXXV (1940), p. 253.

² See above, page 29.

tionalized wig, striped light blue and dark green, covered the head, and a crudely painted broad collar with red, blue, and green rows of beads was shown suspended on the brown chest. It was a barbarous-looking affair, but after all, Thebes was still a rather countrified, Upper Egyptian town when Waḥ died, and this mask was clearly bought from one of the more old-fashioned of the local artisans.

When we had taken off the mask and ten more sheets and pads, we came to another layer of resin, thick and black this time, poured all over the front of the body except the head and face. It had been practically dry when the pads had been laid on it, perhaps because it had been put on at the end of one day's work and had become hard by morning, when the next wrappings had been wound on. When we had removed it, the bandages it had penetrated, and another dozen sheets and pads, we came to the first of Waḥ's jewelry.

There were four bead necklaces, each with its cords tied behind the nape of his neck (pl. 32).³ There was a string of 11 big, hollow, silver spheroid beads separated by little cylinders, and another string of 28 smaller ones of gold. A third string was of 48 blue faience ball beads, and a fourth of 28 cylindrical and oval beads of carnelian, amethyst, moss agate, milky quartz, black and white porphyry, and green glazed steatite. The dents in the hollow metal beads and the fraying of the cords of the silver and of the faience necklaces show that at least three of these strings had actually been worn by Waḥ or by some of his family, just as we see them to-day.

Half a dozen more bandages and pads and then we came to more jewelry. Another string of 45 deep blue faience ball beads had simply been bundled together and laid on the mummy's chest,⁴ and over his crossed arms there had been placed four large scarabs.⁵ One was of plain blue faience, 26 millimeters long, without any inscription or other device, and was strung simply on a short hank of linen threads. The other three are among the surprises of our Egyptian work.

Two are of massive silver and the third of lapis lazuli. The larger silver scarab (pl. 30) is 38.5 millimeters long and the smaller, 27 millimeters. Each was made up of separate pieces, molded and chased and then soldered together—a head and back plate, legs, and a flat base, with a gold tube for a cord fastened lengthwise through the middle. The lapis lazuli scarab is 37.5 millimeters long and perfectly plain, but on the bases of the two silver ones there are graceful,

³ In the first report on the x-ray in the *Bulletin* we described them under A-D, but guessed wrongly which necklace was of gold and which of silver.

⁴ F in the x-ray report, in which these beads were thought to be of stone.

⁵ H in the report on the x-ray, in which only three of the four scarabs could be seen.

meandering scrolls interspersed with hieroglyphs which made easily recognizable seal devices. Both silver scarabs were oxidized, and when we began to clean the larger one we found hieroglyphs skillfully inlaid on its back in pale gold, those on the one wing reading, "The Prince Meket-Rē," and on the other, "The Estate Manager Waḥ"—the names of the owner of the scarab and the grandee for whom he worked. The scratches and dents on the polished surfaces of this silver seal scarab and its smaller mate, and the wear in their gold string-holes showed that they had seen real use. But it was surprising to find that just before they had been put on the mummy the faces of both the silver scarabs and of the lapis lazuli one had been purposely and methodically hammered and pecked as though to blind them. Then, after the blinding, each scarab was strung on a stout linen cord with one barrel-shaped and one cylindrical bead, which obviously made them into amulets to protect Waḥ against some of the many perils of the life to come. But against what? This is another of our unanswerable riddles. Such amulets have never been found before, and they are shown in the painted friezes inside only three of the many coffins of Waḥ's time, unfortunately neither named or explained.⁶

Next we unwrapped half a dozen large bandages and twice as many pads and sheets, each one more stained with resin than the last. Clearly the linen we were now taking off had been put over a third resin layer while it was still soft, and when we got down to it we found stuck fast in it a broad collar (pl. 32) of greenish blue beads on Waḥ's chest and matching bracelets on his wrists and ankles.⁷ All were stiff with the resin which saturated them, and tight bandaging had crumpled up the collar, but soaking in alcohol made them all pliable once more, and their stringing needed very little reinforcement before they were ready for exhibition.

What we had found so far had seen actual use in Waḥ's lifetime. Here we had objects made expressly for the tomb and in the style of centuries long gone by even in Waḥ's day, and perhaps this explains why they had been put on the body in a perfunctory and careless way. The cords of the broad collar had only been twisted together behind the nape of the neck, and not tied, and there had been a good deal of confusion over the bracelets. There were eight of these last. Two were tied on each ankle, and then, by some mistake which no one noticed, a third was put on the right ankle. Thus, when the undertakers began

⁶ H. Schaefer, *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde . . . vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rē*, p. 50, no. 9, and p. 58, no. 9; G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du moyen empire*, p. 51.

⁷ E, G, and L in the report on the x-ray.

putting bracelets on the wrists, they had only three left, and the last of these they simply dropped on the body in the soft resin and went on with their bandaging.

We still had quantities of bandages and sheets to take off, but there was only one more object to remove. We had thought from the x-ray that an oval seal was on a finger of the left hand, but what we actually found there was an oval *seweret*-bead of red carnelian such as was usually put on the throat of a mummy.⁸ Why this one was laid in Waḥ's palm is still another puzzle.

While we were unwrapping the mummy we had it up on two carpenter's saw horses; the Egyptians who wrapped it probably had it up on blocks of wood while they squatted beside it on a wide wooden platform.⁹ Alongside they had great heaps of old linen bed sheets, which they tore as they needed into pieces about five cubits long¹⁰ or into strips of bandage of whatever width they required at the moment. Near by was the resin pot, and sometimes the resin got splashed on the heap of linen and sometimes it was wiped from sticky fingers on the pile of sheets, but the embalmers were very careful not to get any on the bandages that were going to show, or any pitchy fingerprints on the part of the mask that was not going to be covered up. When, however, they thought they would not be found out they showed indifference. One of them had killed a mouse while they were smearing on the last layer of resin, and the dead mouse and the linen resin swabs were dropped on the mummy's knees and hidden under the next bandages. What we had taken for another mouse was much less distinct in the x-ray.¹¹ It turned out to be a little house lizard, of a kind still common in Egypt, which probably ran under the mummy, got stuck in the innermost layer of soft resin, and was wrapped in the bandages. A cricket had been entrapped in the same pitch layer beside the broad collar, and it got wrapped in too.

In all we unwound 375 square meters of linen from the mummy, and, if we add the sheets we found in the coffin and two pieces which had covered it in the funeral procession, the total from the tomb of Waḥ comes to 845 square meters.¹² Much of it had been torn up to make convenient-sized wrappings, but there were still some complete sheets which varied from a fringed shawl 256 centimeters long to a bed

⁸ I in the report on the x-ray. For the *seweret* (*surit*) see Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916), p. 62, pl. XXVI; Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁹ See above, page 55.

¹⁰ The first twenty sheets we took off had an average length of 263 cm., or almost exactly 5 cubits.

¹¹ J and K in the report on the x-ray.

¹² About 1,010 square yards.

covering 25.60 meters long. These two probably had been 5 and 50 cubits long before they had shrunk in repeated washings, for this was old household linen, shawls and bed coverings saved against the day of need, or procured from friends and relatives or perhaps even bought of strangers for the occasion.

In the corners of at least sixty of these sheets there had been written in ink a hieroglyphic sign or two which told its quality, and often in the opposite corner, the owner's name. For some reason there seems to have been an objection to letting linen go to the tomb so marked, and therefore most of the little labels had been torn out. This was done during the actual wrapping of the mummy, but so carelessly that three of the torn-out corners got rolled on the mummy with the bandages, and one third of the marks were entirely overlooked and not torn out at all. Half a dozen gave the names of various people for whom they had originally been woven, and in the mark on the longest sheet of all we could just make out "Year 31,"¹³ now very faded from much washing. That seems to fix the date of its weaving some thirty years before Waḥ died.

Eleven sheets bore the name of Waḥ himself. One was marked with his name only. Two were marked with his name and the date "Year 2," unquestionably of King S'ankh-ka-Rē', the last legitimate ruler of the Eleventh Dynasty. Then come three sheets of "Year 5," three of "Year 6," and two others without any year, all marked "The Estate Manager Waḥ." It looks as though it had been between the second and fifth years of S'ankh-ka-Rē' that Waḥ got the job of manager of Meket-Rē's estates, and as there are no higher dates than the sixth year, he probably died very early in the second half of the king's twelve-year reign, or about 2010 B.C.

Linen was costly and was an important form of wealth. The reader may recall the letters of Heka-nakhte which we found just two years after we discovered the tomb of Waḥ. In one of them Heka-nakhte writes home that he has had some cloth woven which his sons are to sell, using the proceeds to pay the rent on land he wants them to lease.¹⁴ The cloth must have been just such sheets as those from the tomb of Waḥ and Heka-nakhte must have been just such a person as Waḥ himself. They may even have known each other. The one was the Estate Manager of the great noble Meket-Rē; the other was in charge of the tomb endowment of the Vizir Ipi, who had died a very

¹³ The year Waḥ was born, probably, since thirty years seems to have been the oldest age to which he could have lived.

¹⁴ See above, page 63.

few years before. One was having linen woven in the fifth and sixth years of King Sṯankh-ka-Rēṯ; the other was making business trips in the fifth and eighth years, and on the latter occasion writing home that he had just had some linen finished.

It only remained to find out what we could from the body of Waḥ himself, and in this we had the coöperation of Dr. Harry L. Shapiro of the American Museum of Natural History. Waḥ as has been already noted, was a youngish man about thirty years old, who had undergone a primitive mummification. His brain was left in place, and the embalmers left his viscera intact above the diaphragm. Below that level they appear to have removed them, apparently through an incision in his lower abdomen. The more or less prolonged soaking had made Waḥ's flesh so soft that too tight a bandaging made a very narrow bundle of his body. Most of his ribs were broken, his pelvis was pushed out of place, and in addition to the embalmers' incision a hole had been eaten through his back. But after all, those who wrapped him up never expected these things to be seen, any more than they expected their finger prints to be seen on the bandages.

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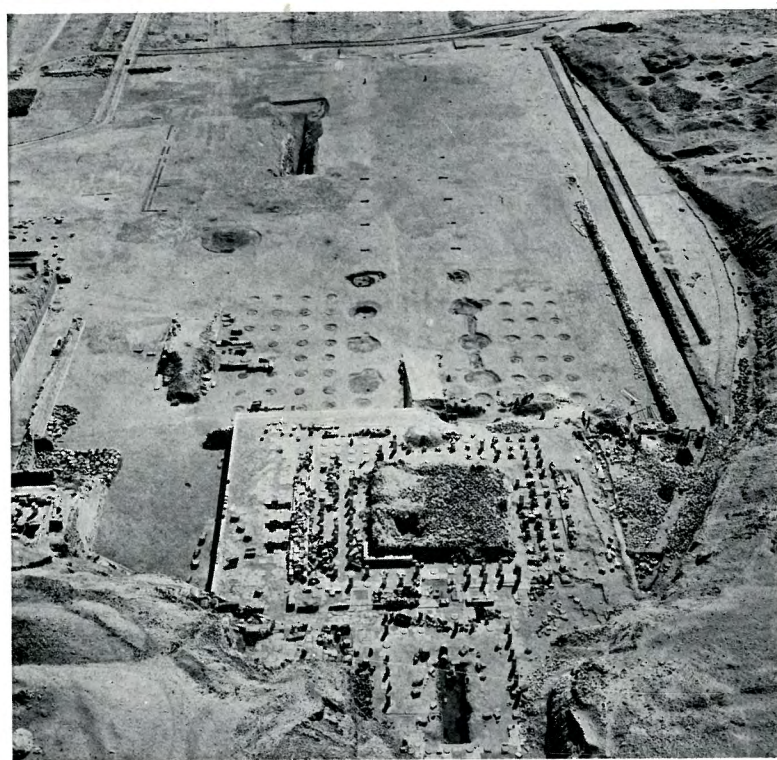
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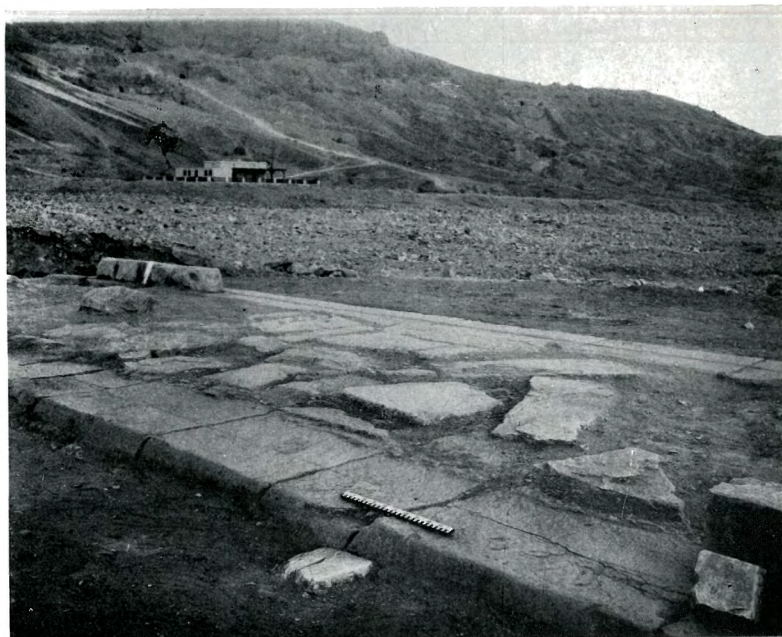
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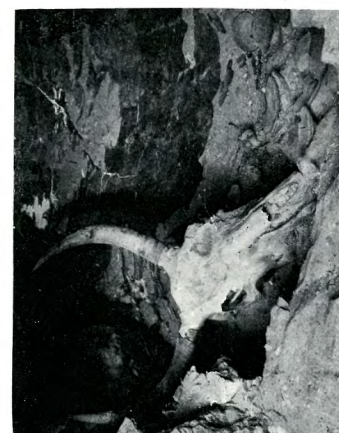
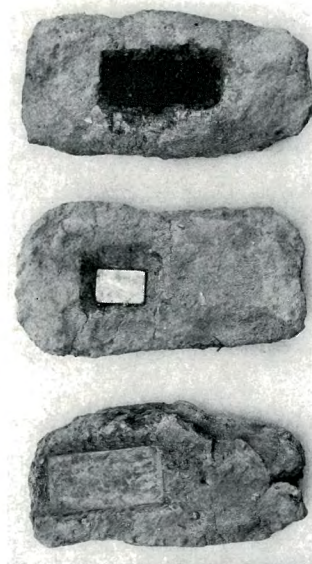
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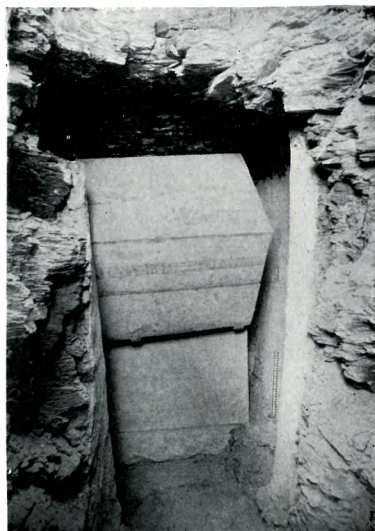
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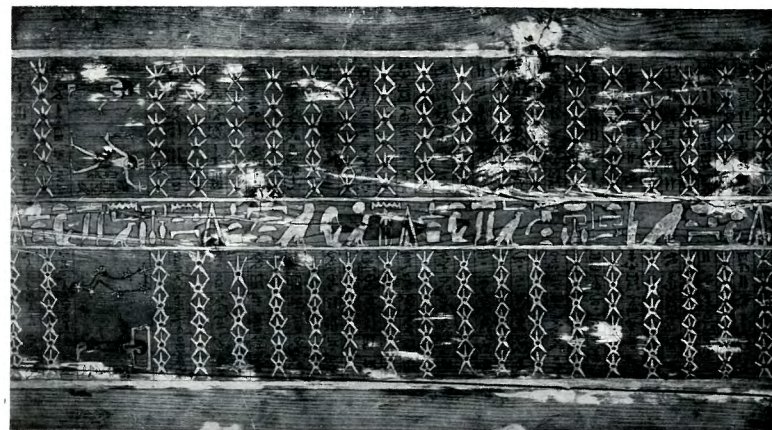
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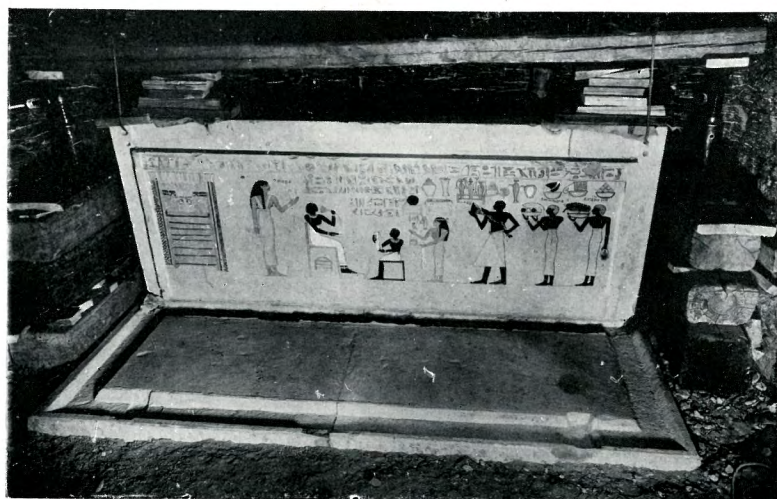
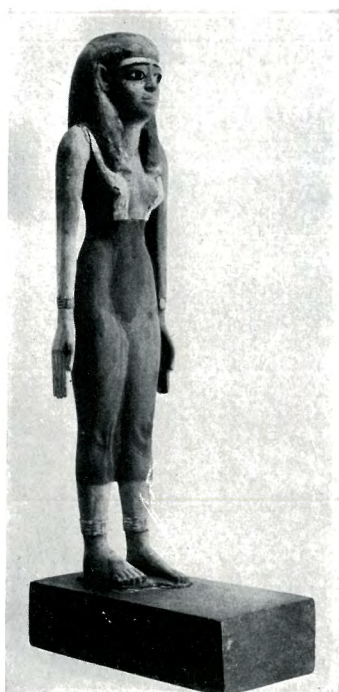
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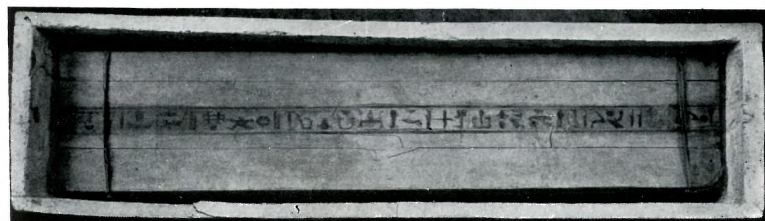
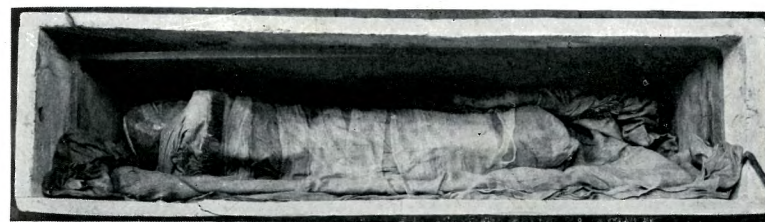
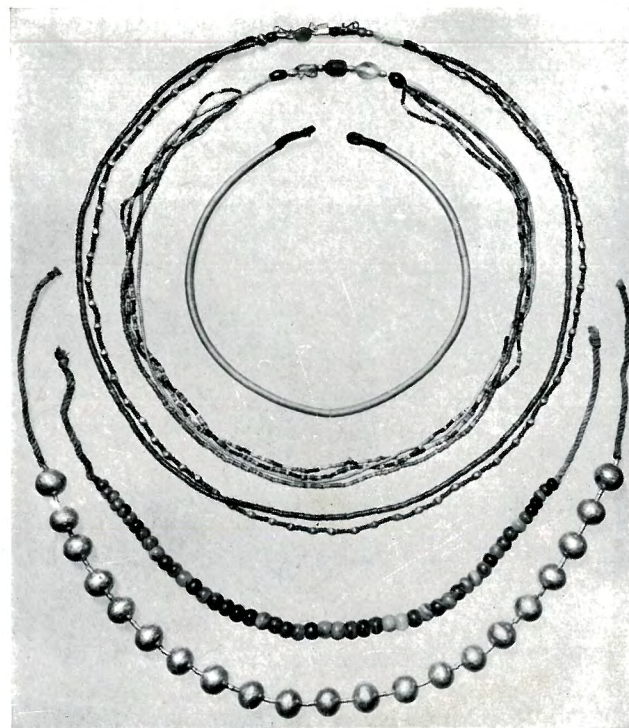
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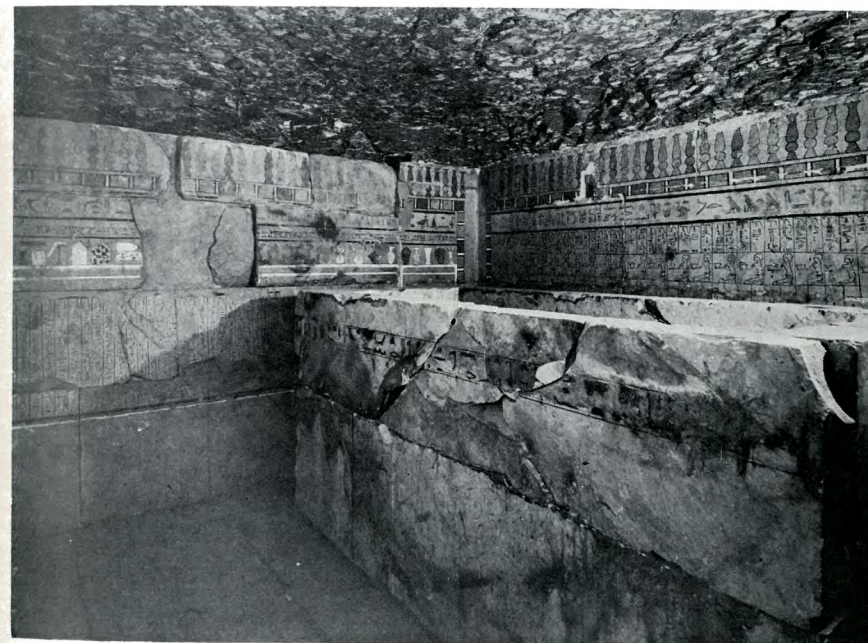
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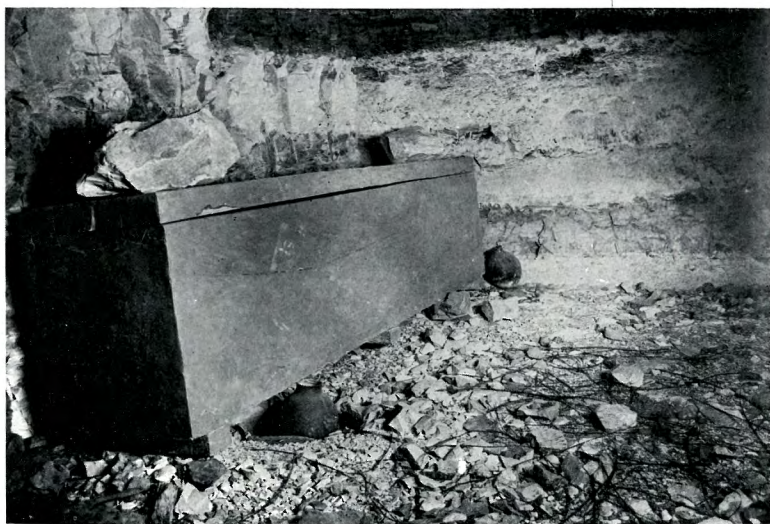
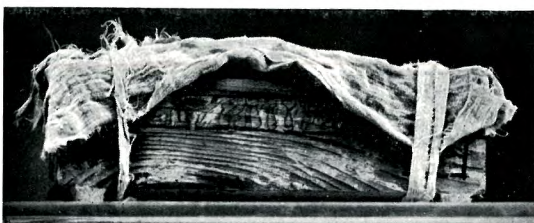
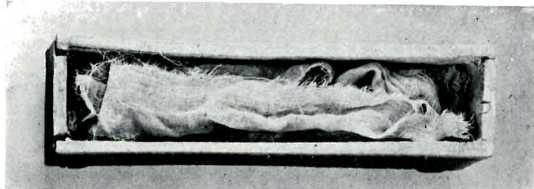
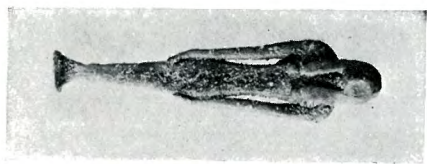
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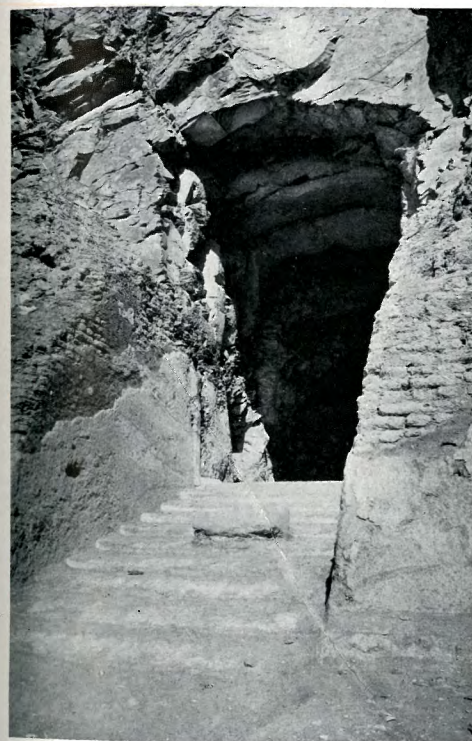
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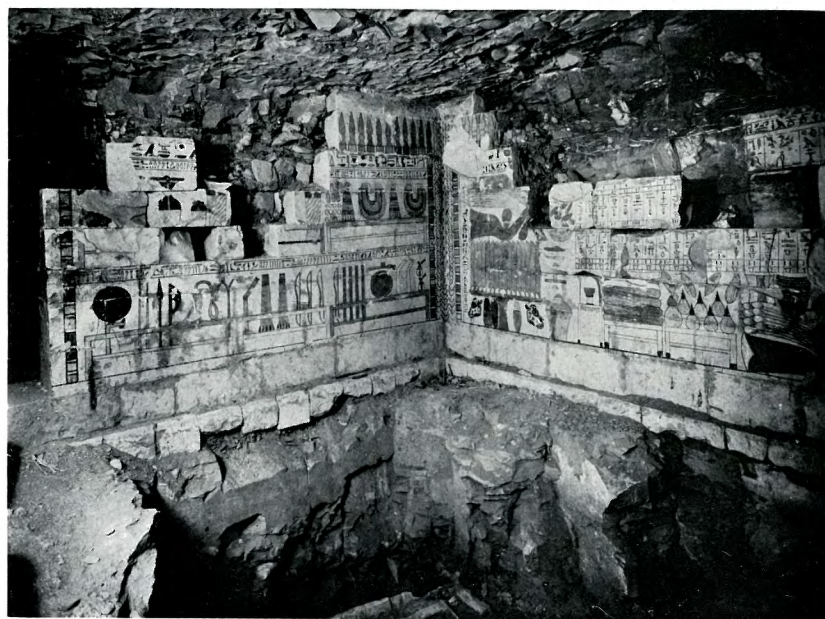
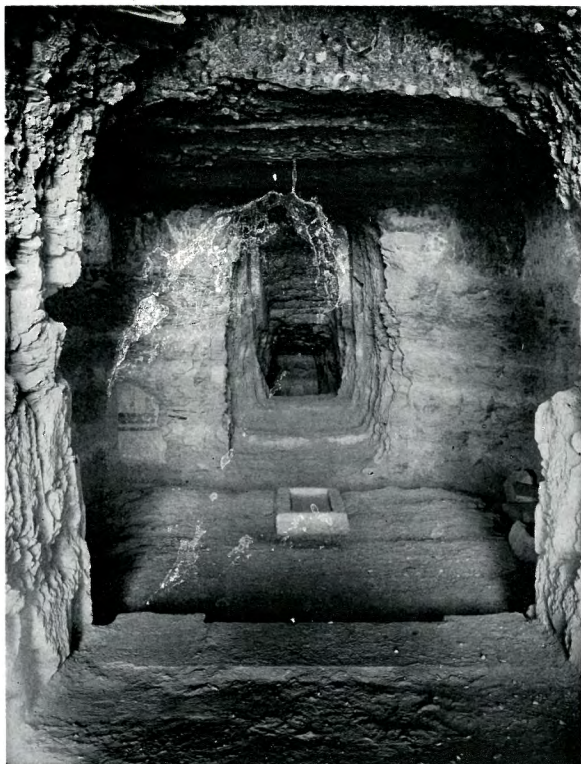
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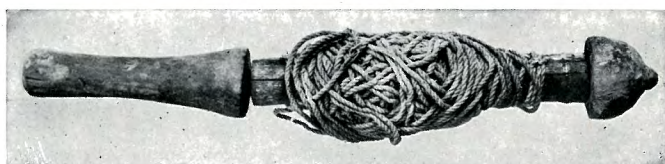
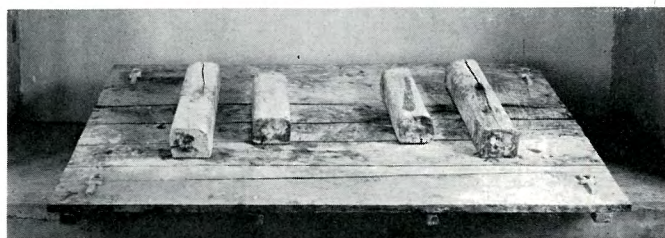
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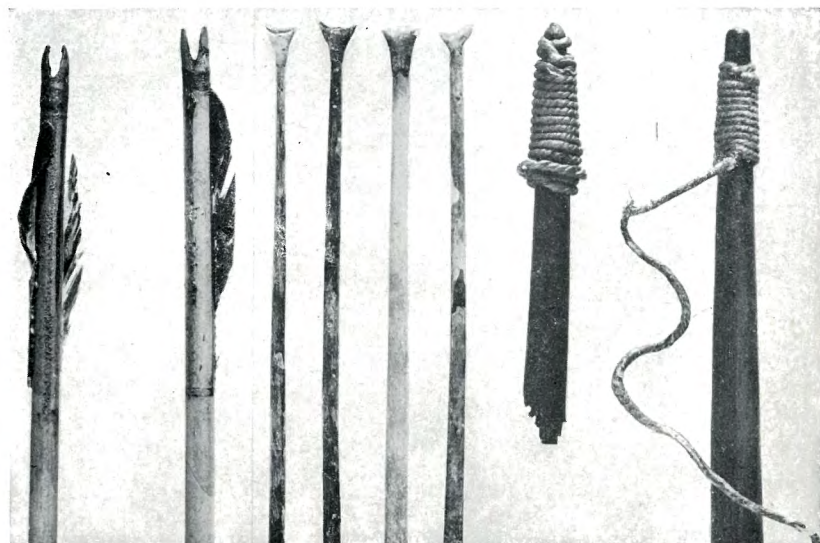
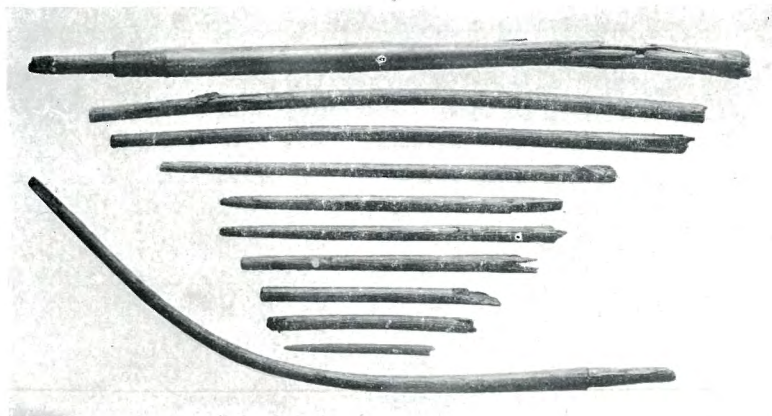
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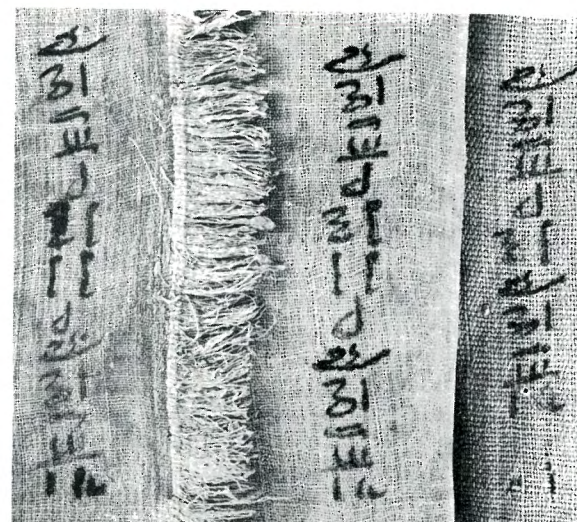
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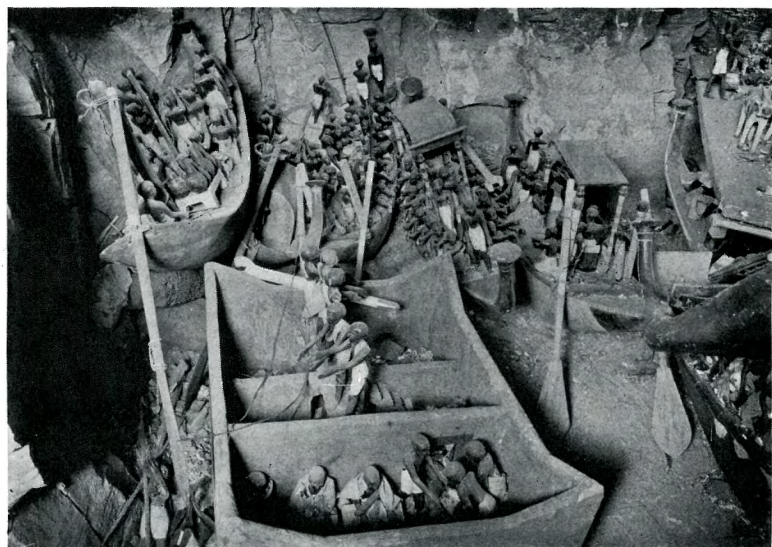
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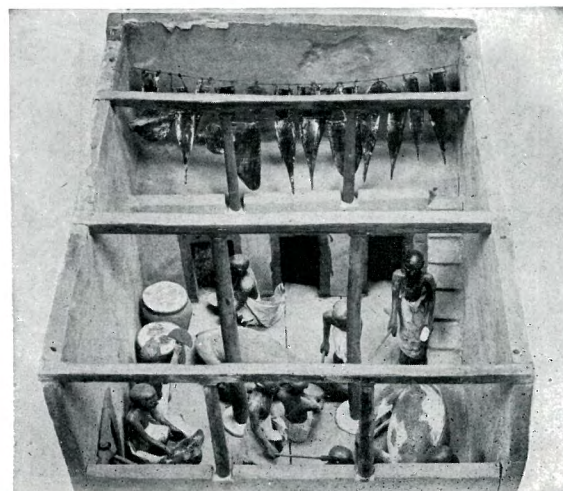
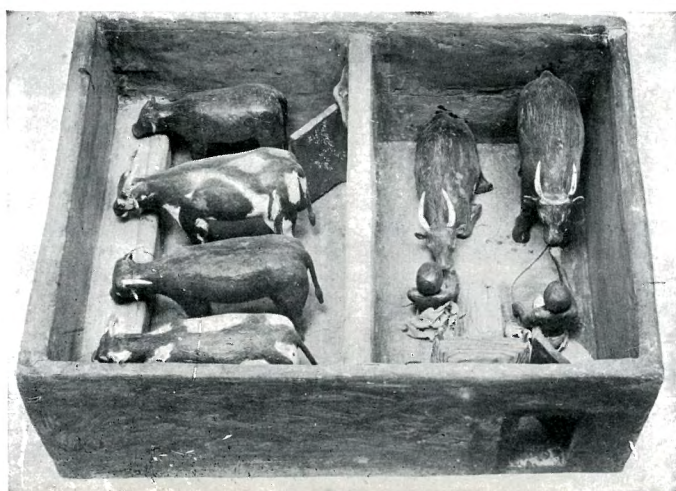
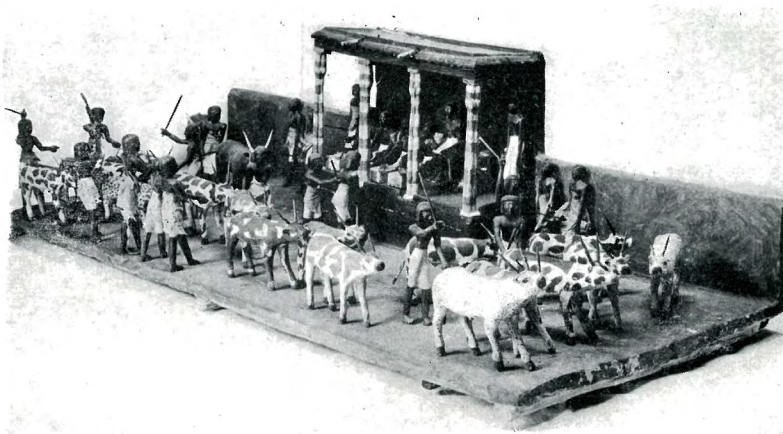
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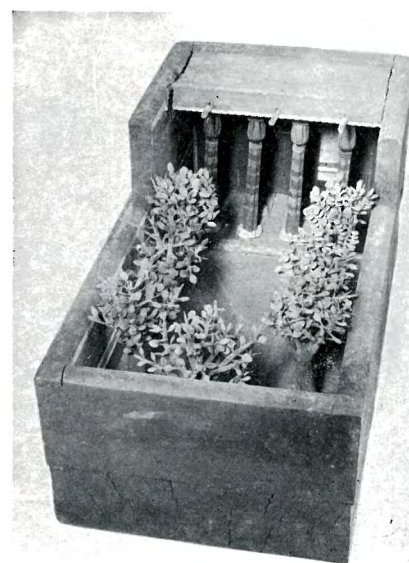
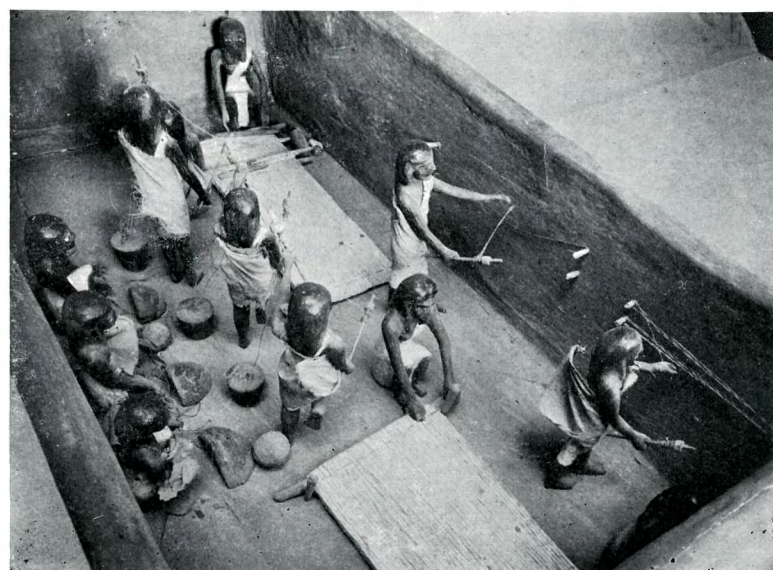
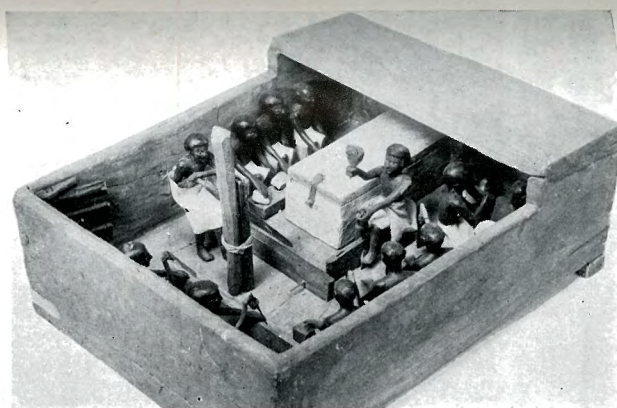
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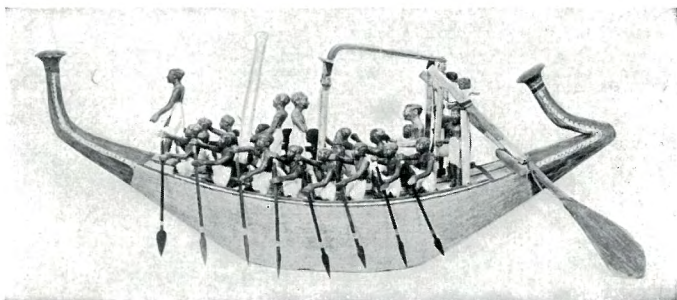
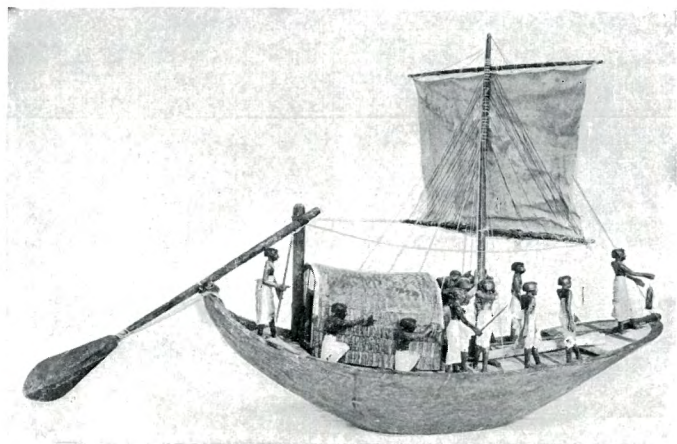
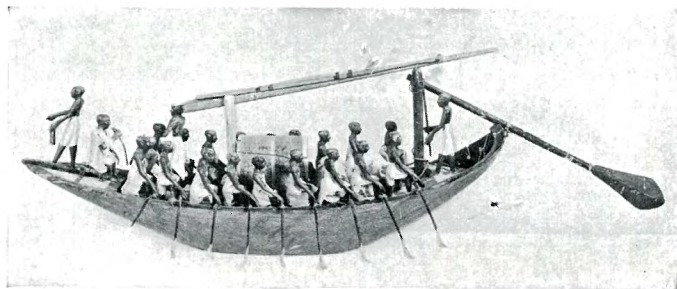
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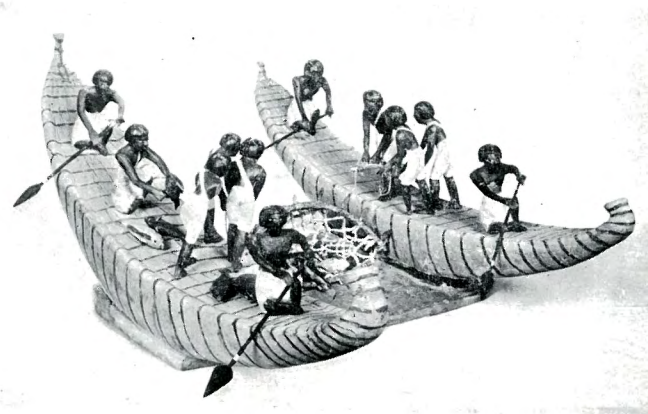
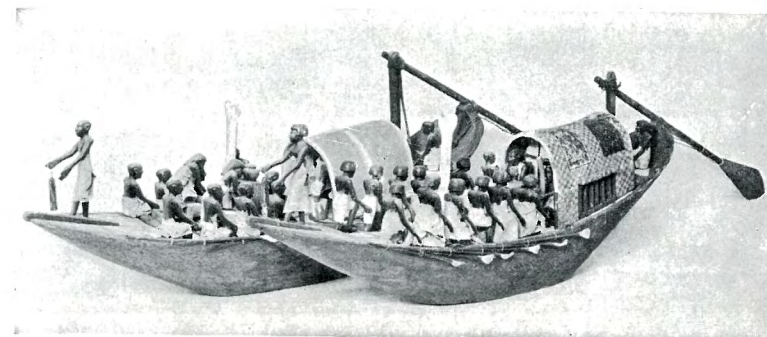
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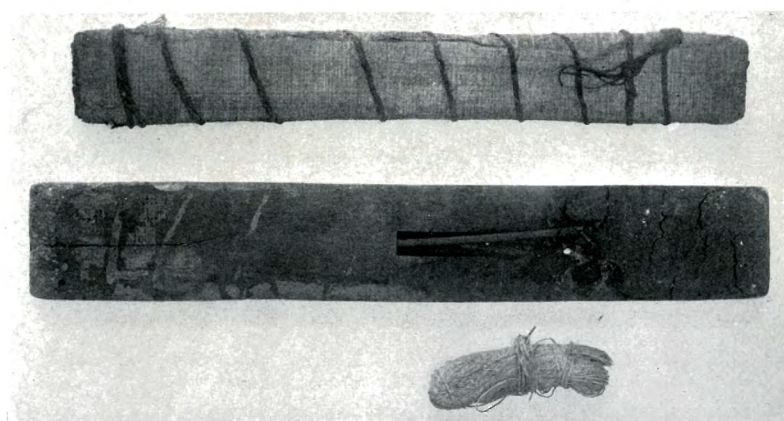
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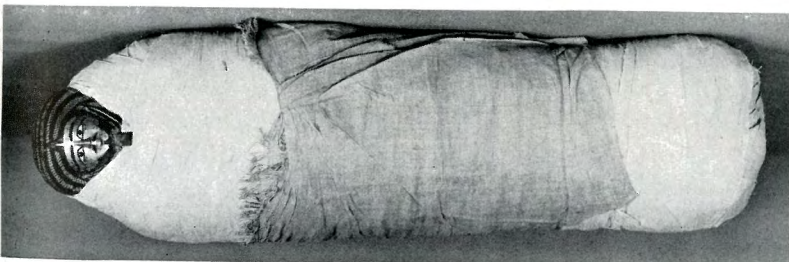
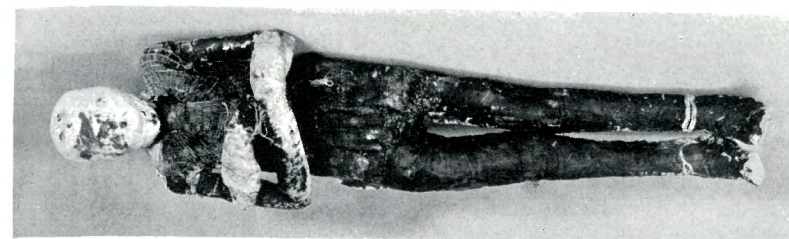
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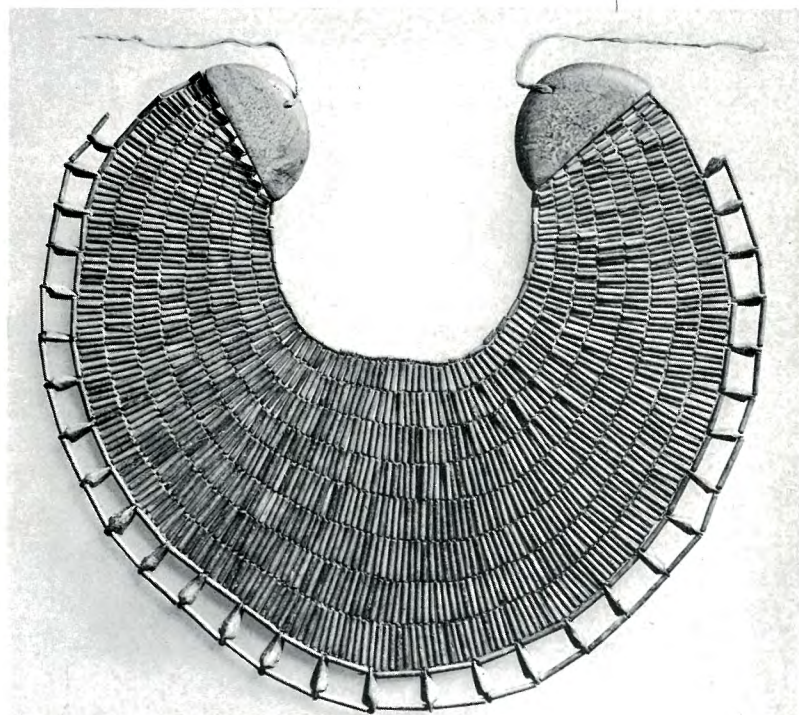
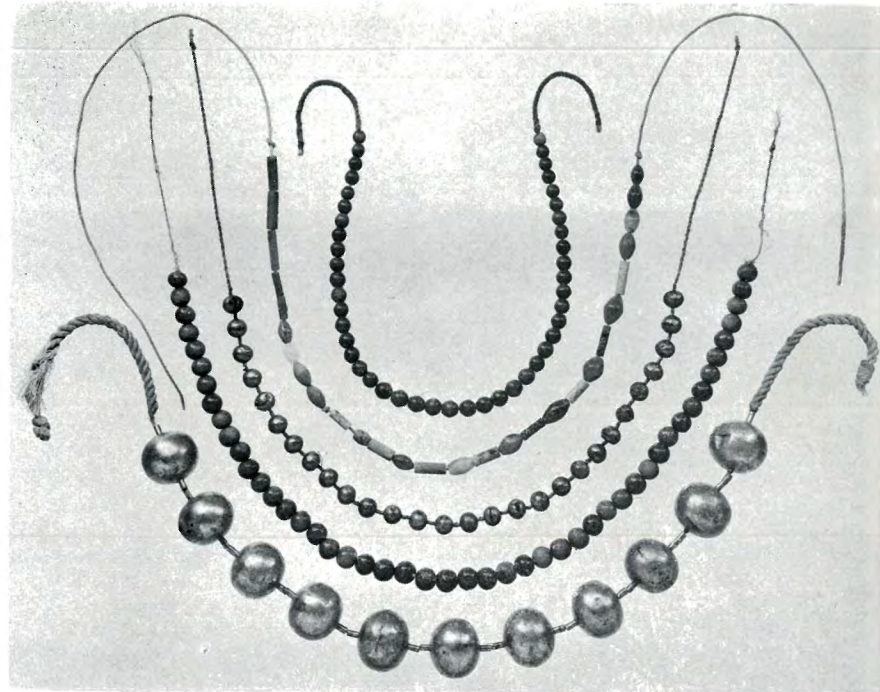
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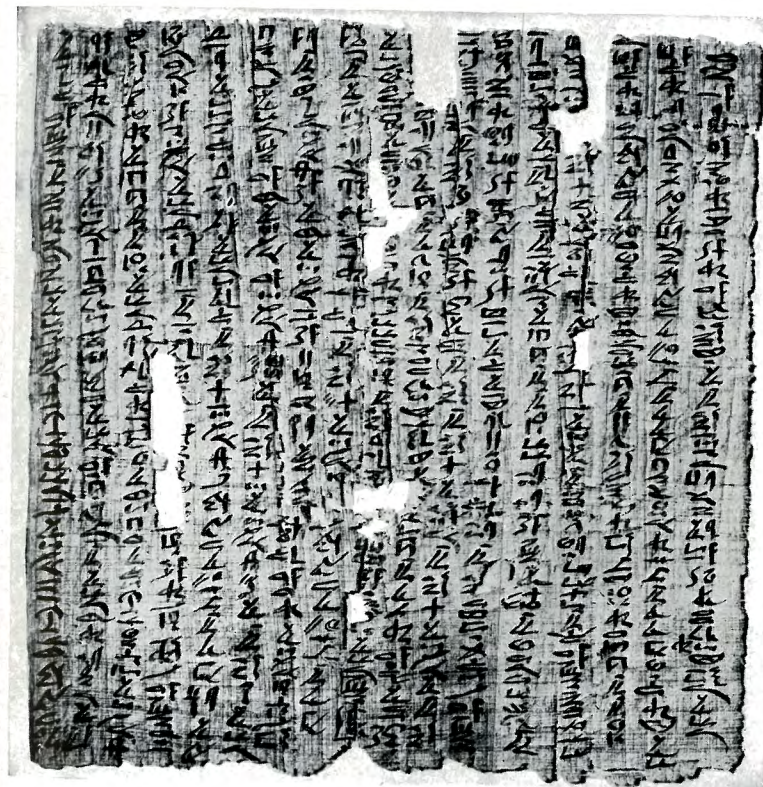
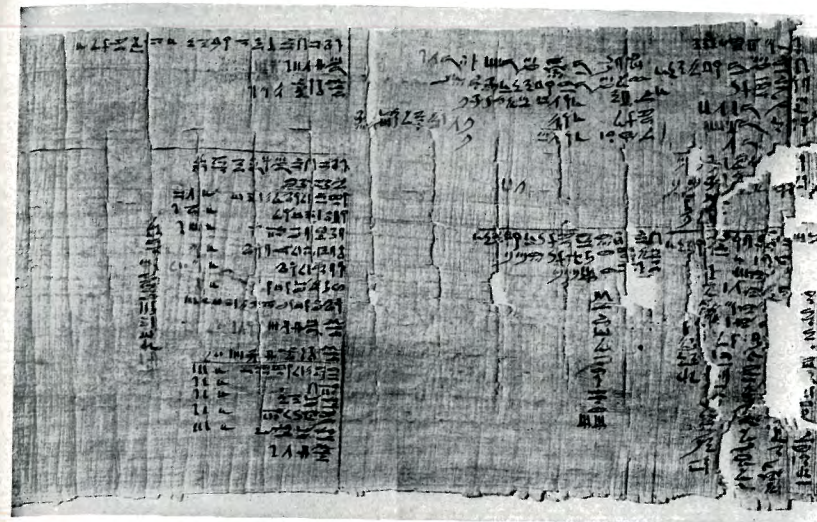
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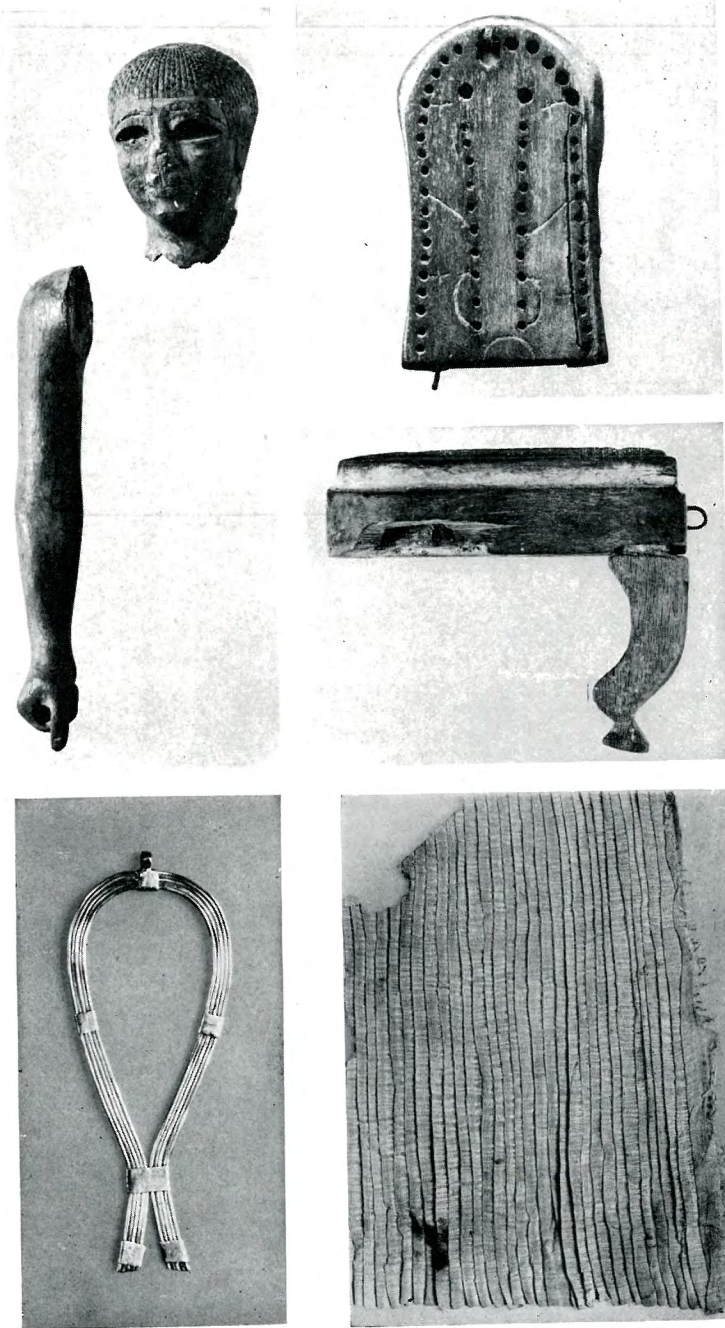
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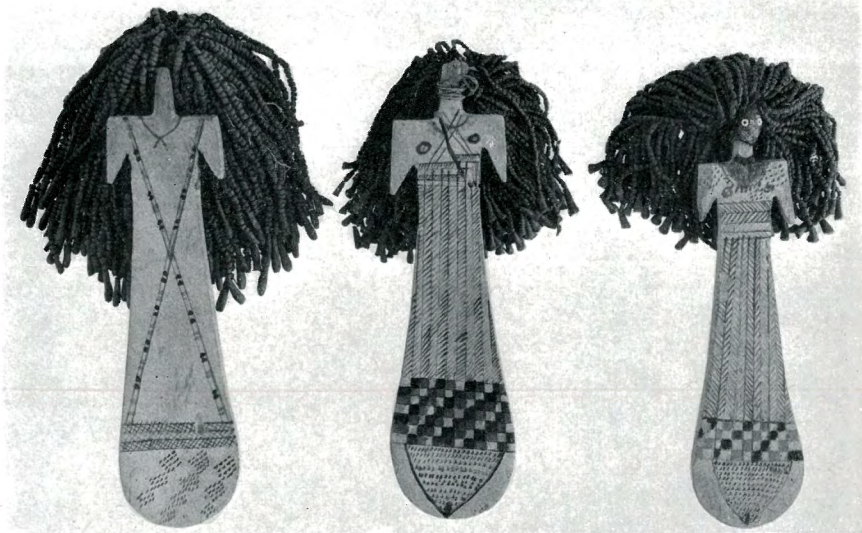
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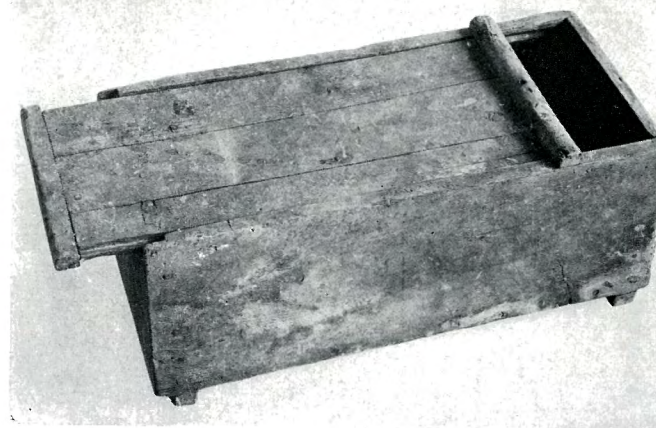
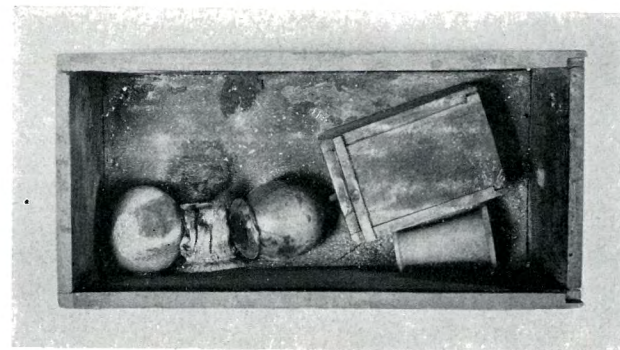
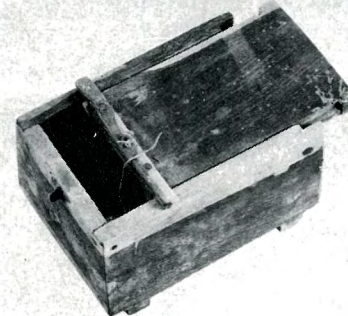
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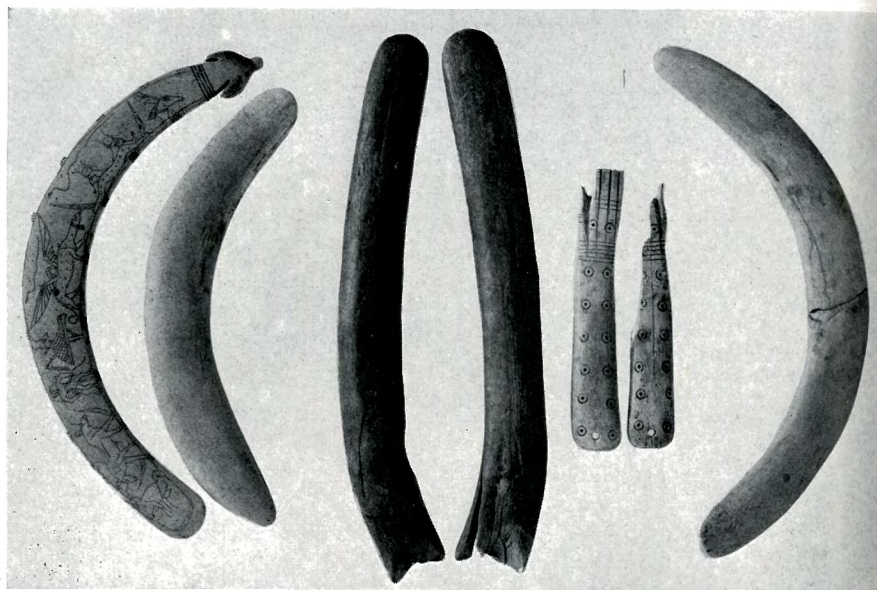
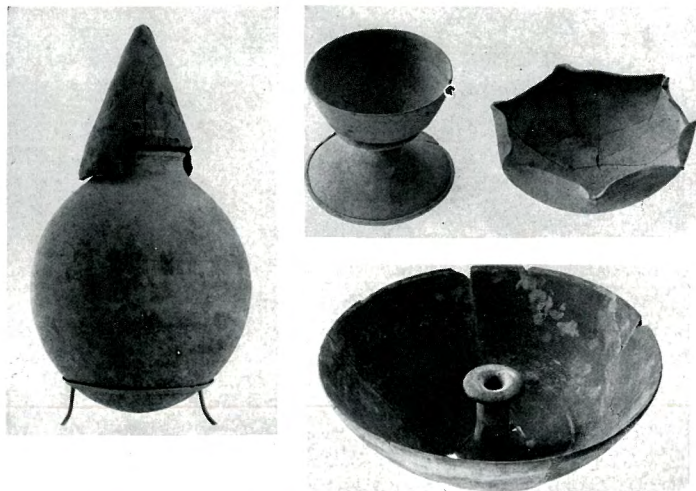
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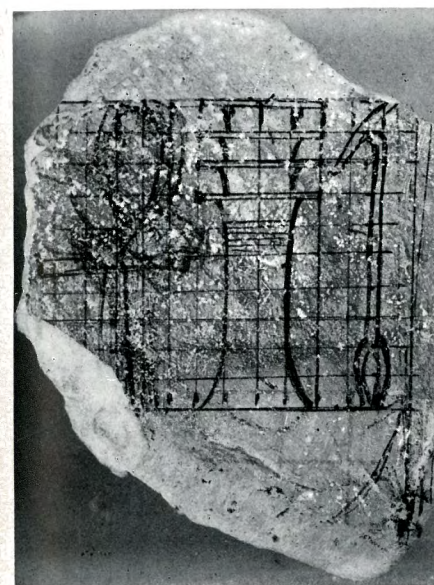
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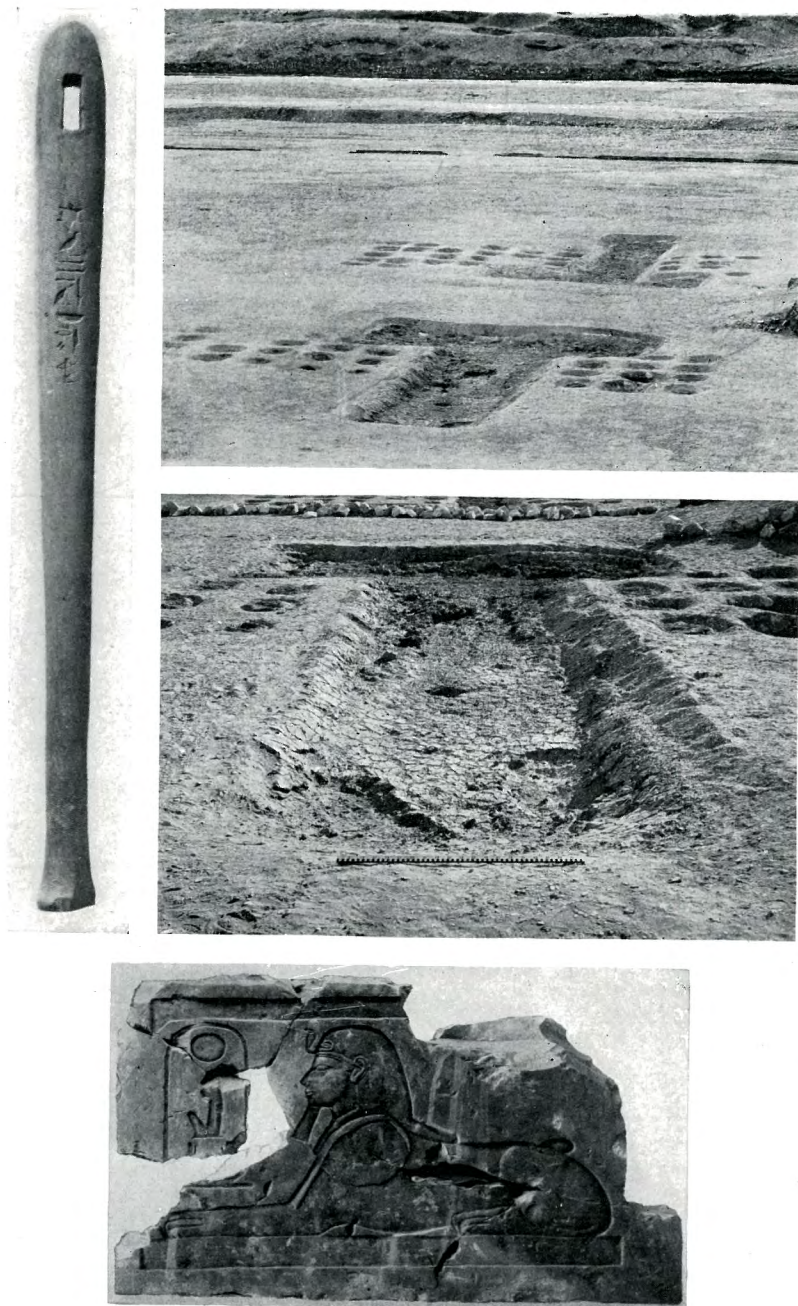
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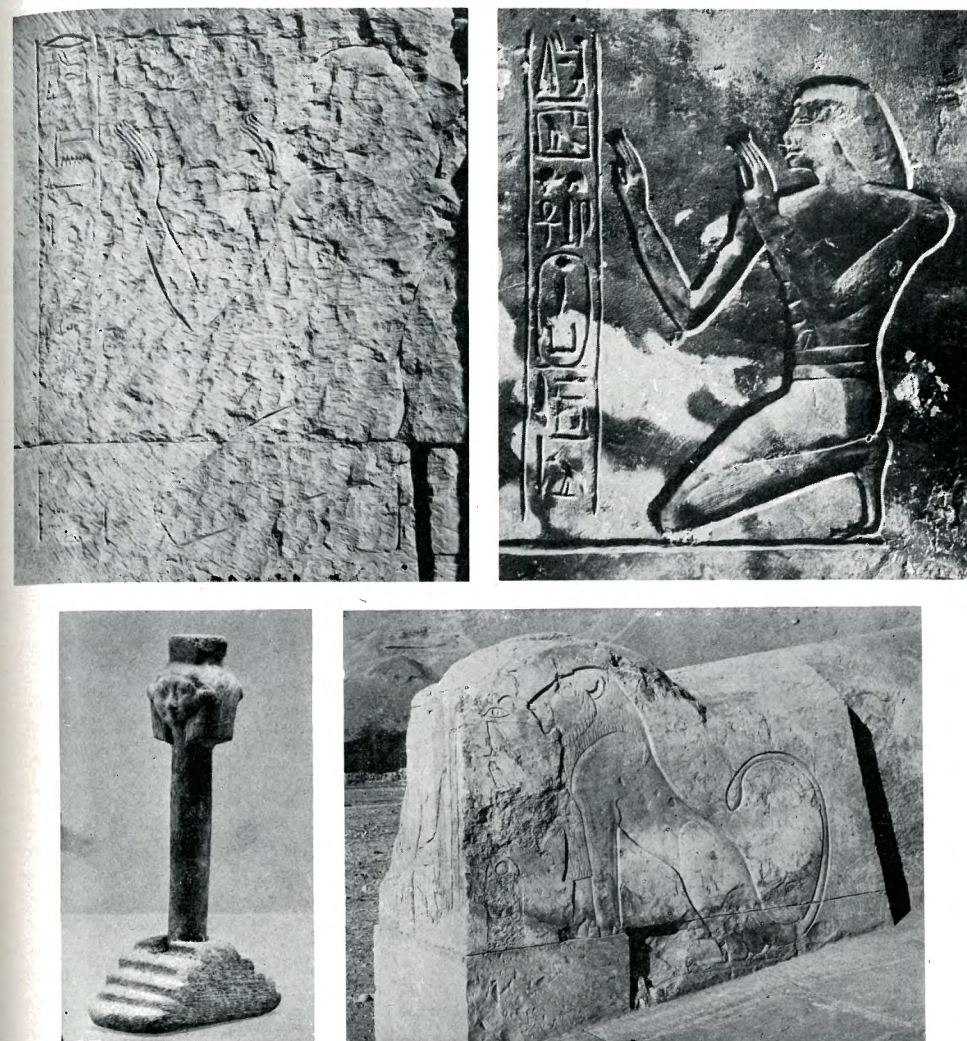
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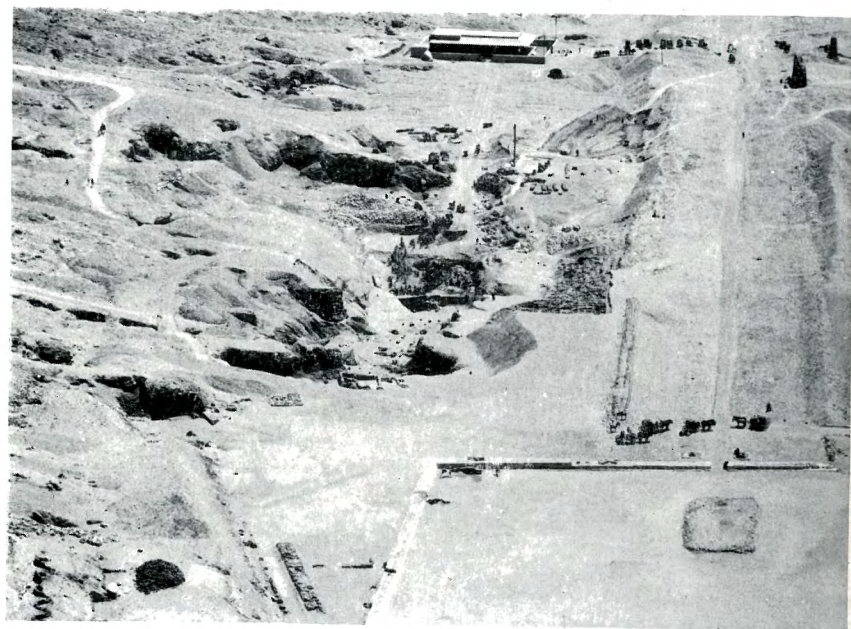
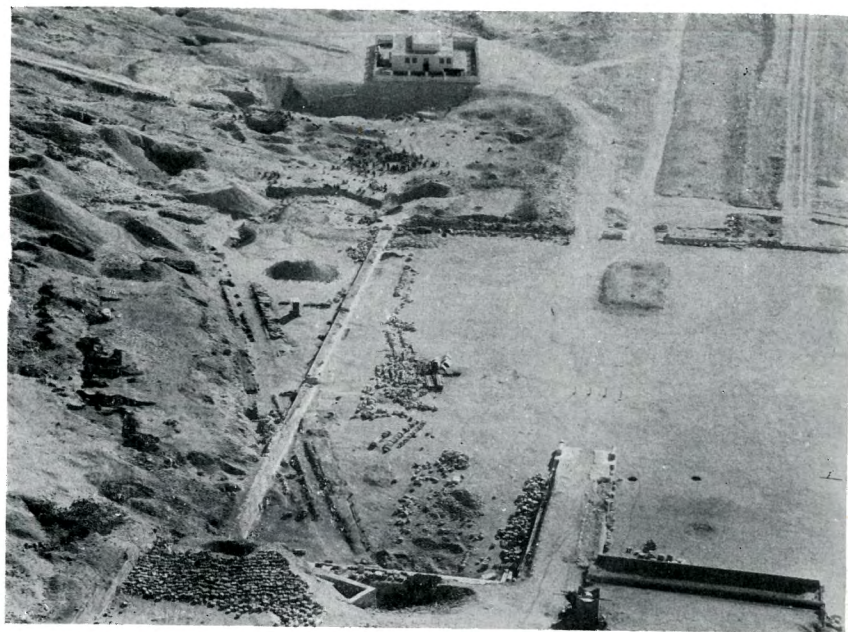
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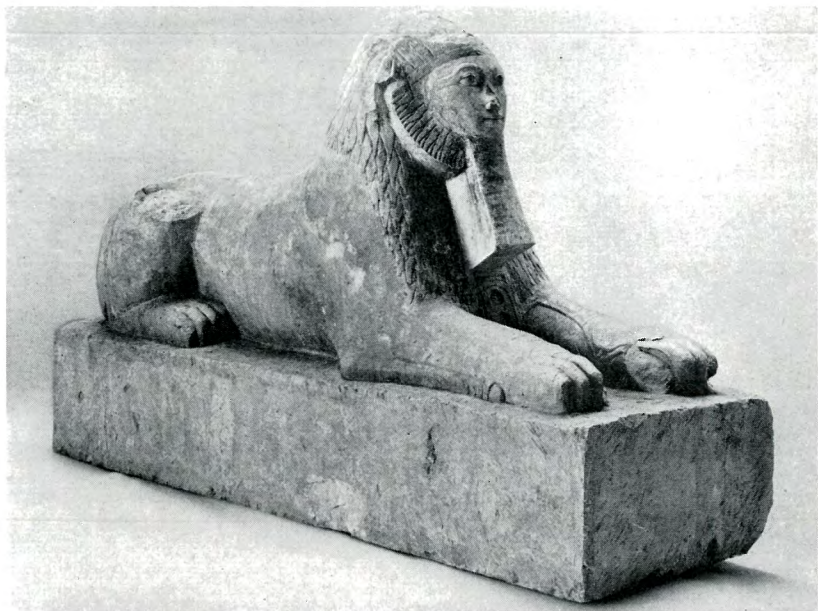
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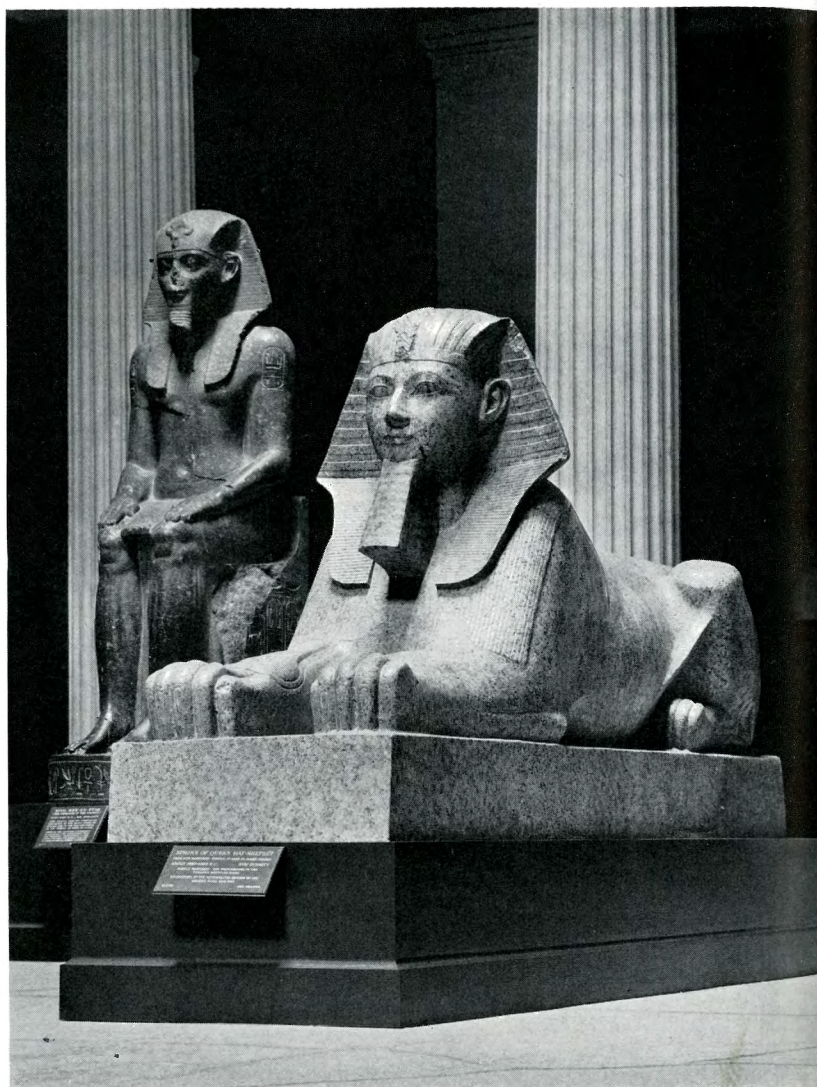
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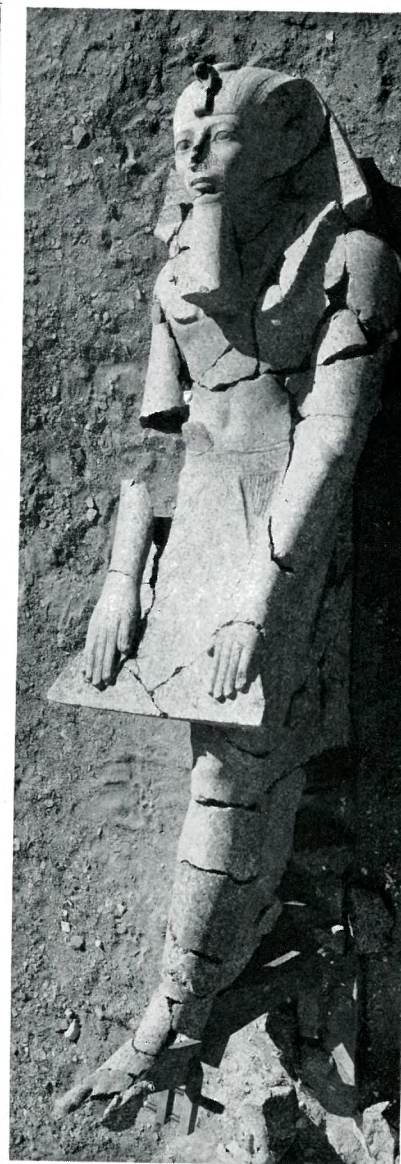
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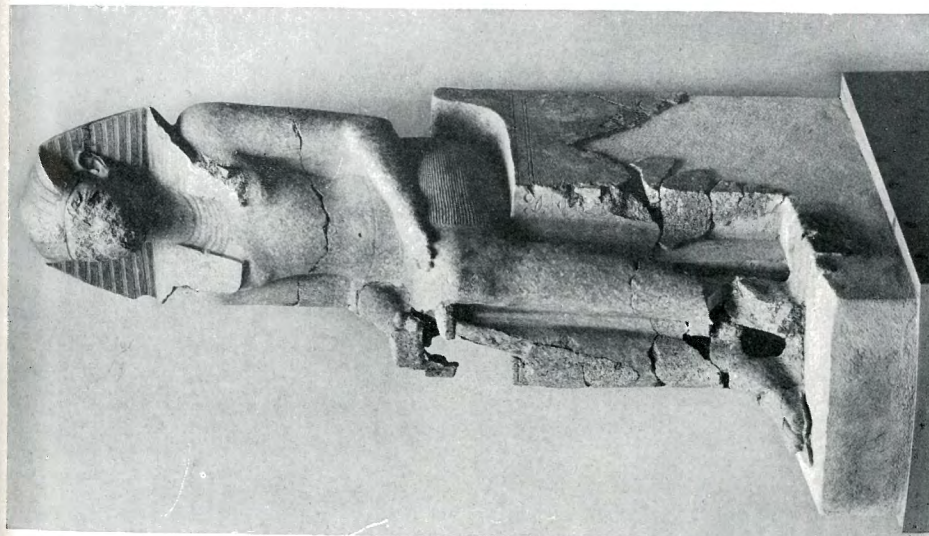
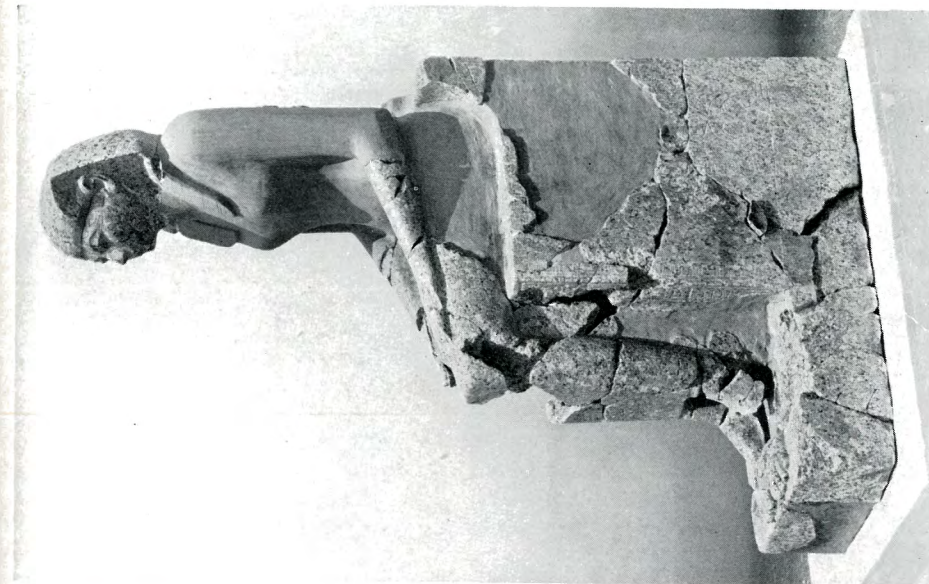
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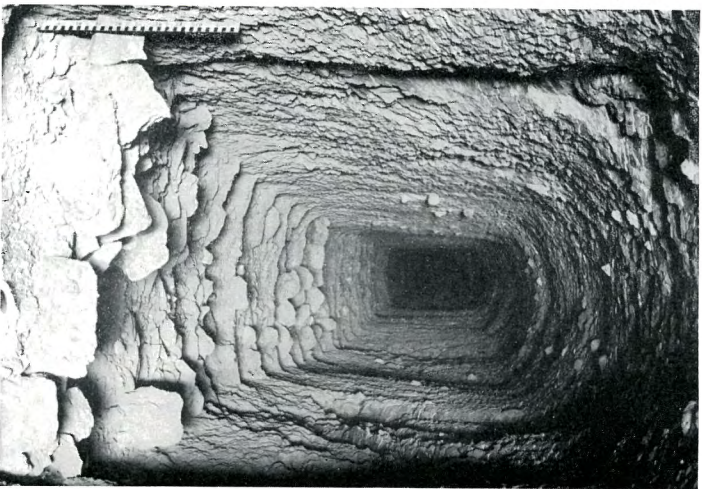
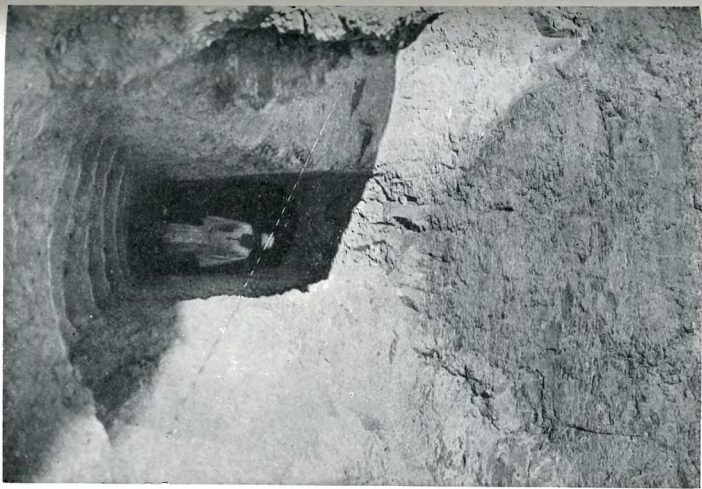
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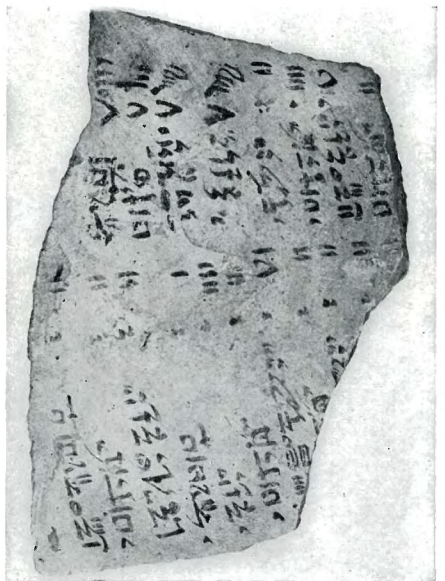
59. FERRYING THE STATUES OF QUEEN HAT-SHEPSÛT ACROSS THE NILE. 1929-30

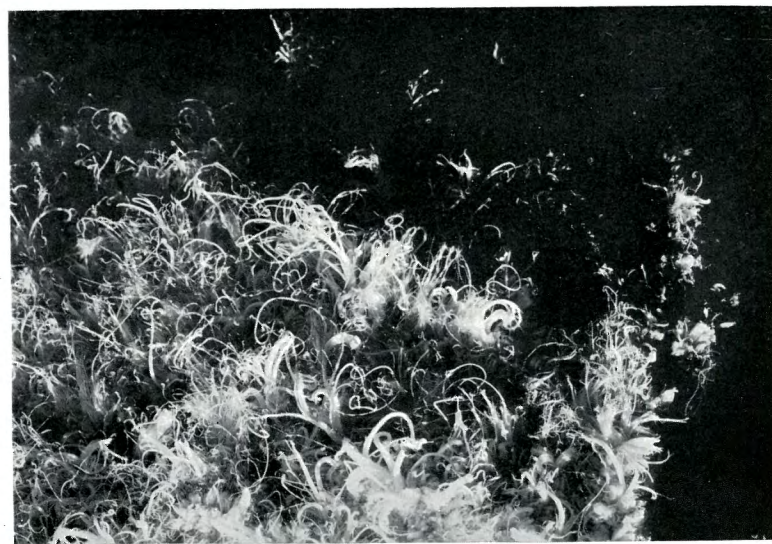


60. WEST END OF ḤAT-SHEPSŪT'S QUARRY, WITH THE ENTRANCE OF SEN-MŪT'S TOMB AT THE LOWER LEFT AND TWO ARABS STANDING BESIDE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS BEYOND. 1926-27

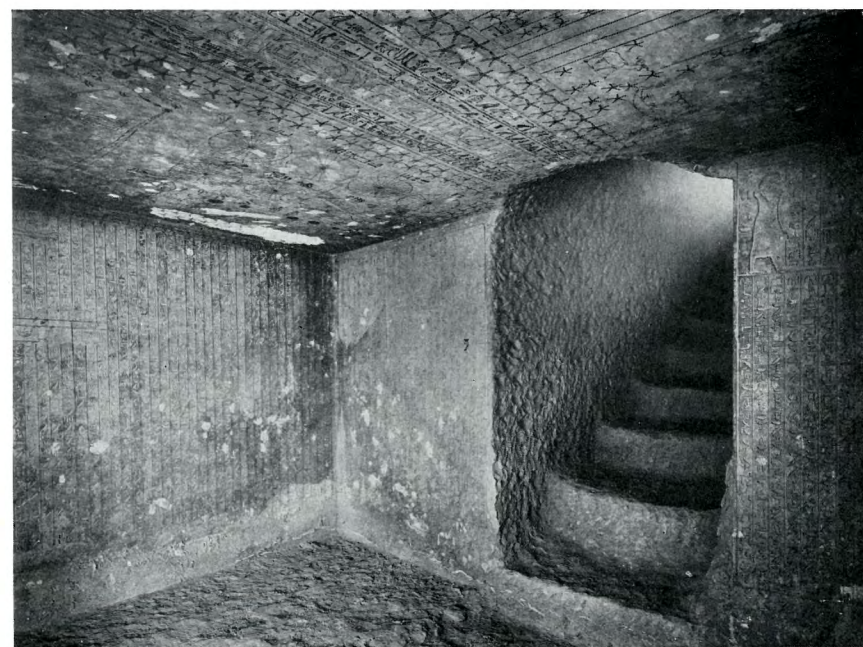
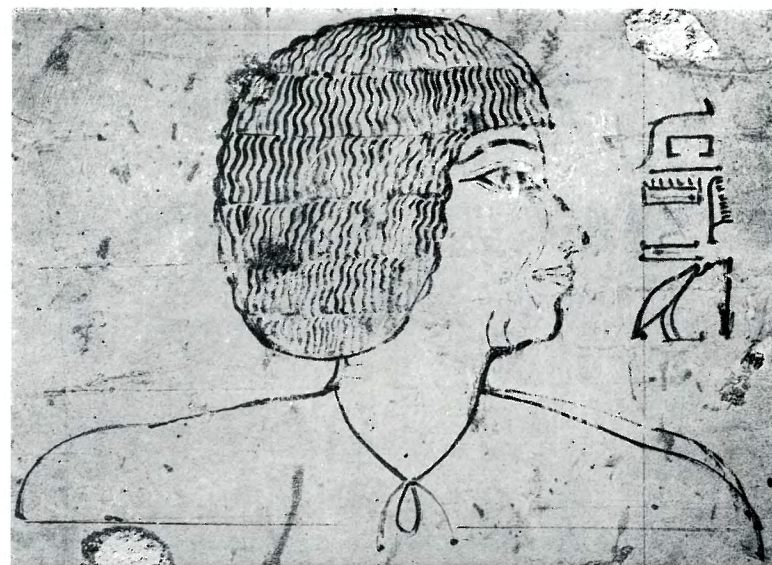


61. ACCOUNTS DEALING WITH SEN-MŪT; THE ENTRANCE TO HIS TOMB WITH THE STAINED ROCK ABOVE; AND THE STAIRWAY INSIDE. 1926-27





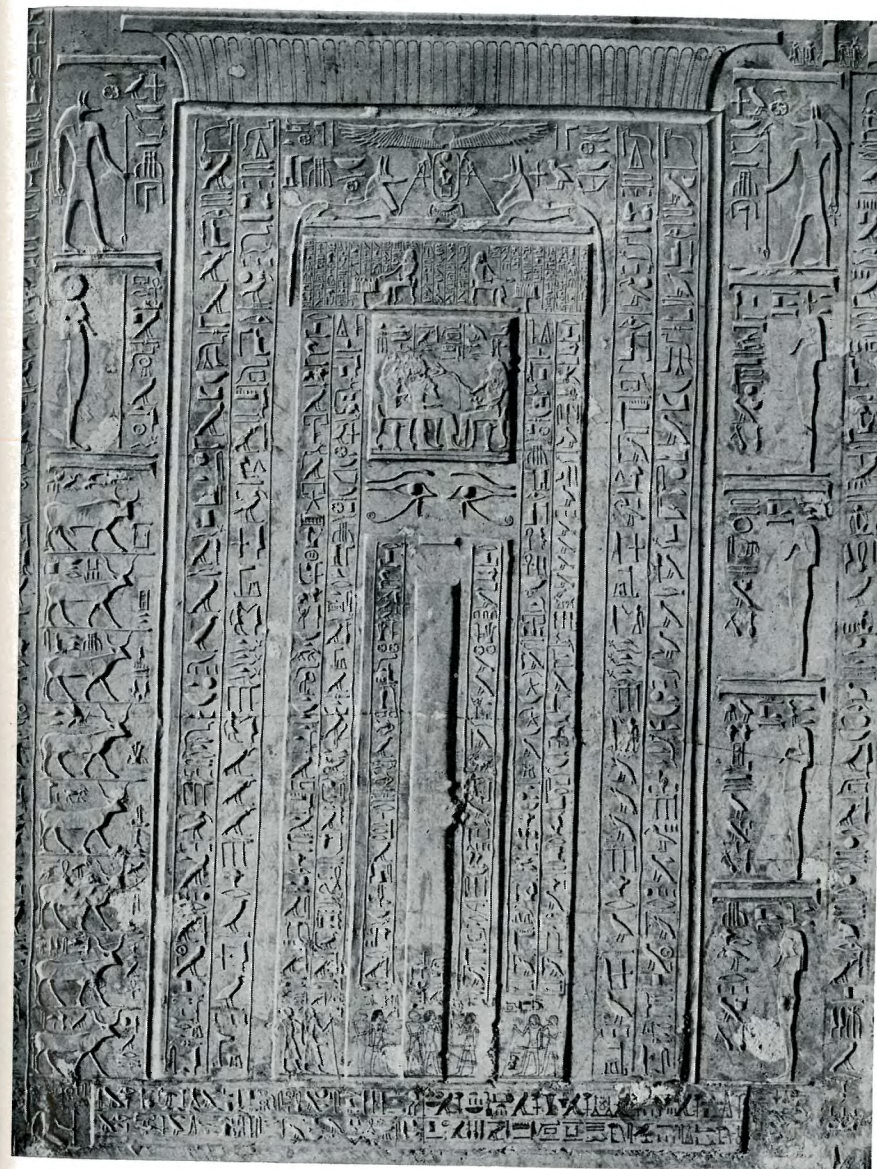
62. SALT CRYSTALS HANGING FROM THE CEILING AND GROWING FROM THE FLOOR OF SEN-MŪT'S TOMB. 1926-27



63. THE STEWARD OF AMŪN SEN-MŪT, DRAWN IN HIS TOMB; AND THE DECORATED CHAMBER. 1926-27



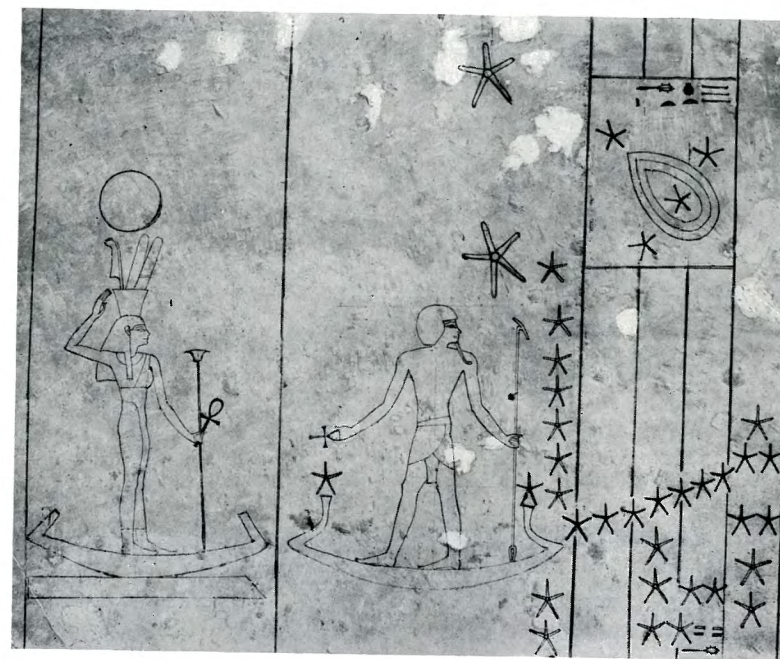
64. SEN-MŪT SALUTES THE NAMES OF QUEEN HAT-SHEPSŪT; AND DATES OF AN INSPECTION OF THE SCULPTURES WRITTEN ON THE TOMB WALLS. 1926-27



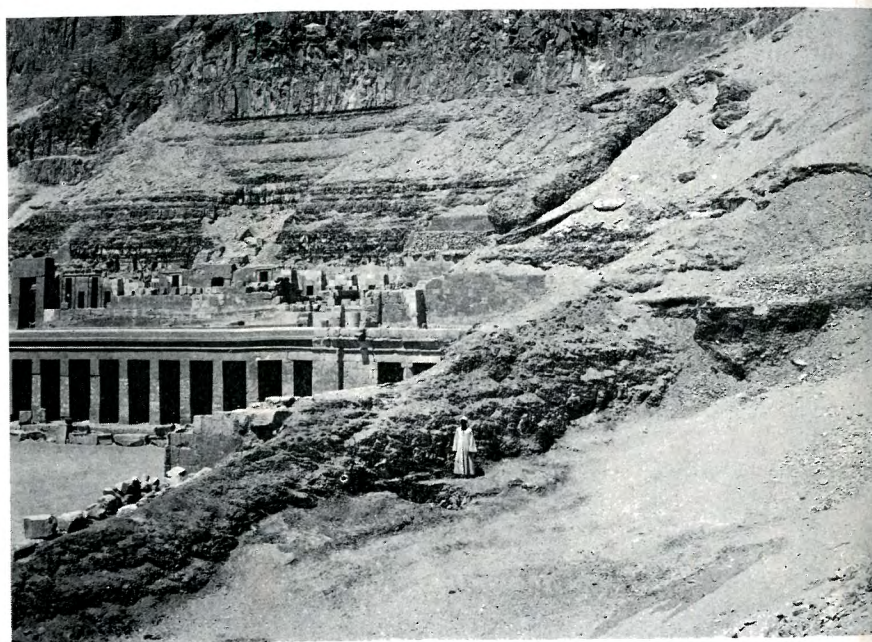
65. THE STELA ON THE WALL OF THE TOMB OF SEN-MŪT. 1926-27



66. ASTRONOMICAL CEILING IN THE TOMB OF SEN-MÛT. 1926-27



67. THE CIRCUMPOLAR CONSTELLATIONS; AND SOTHIS AND ORION ON THE CEILING OF SEN-MÛT'S TOMB. 1926-27

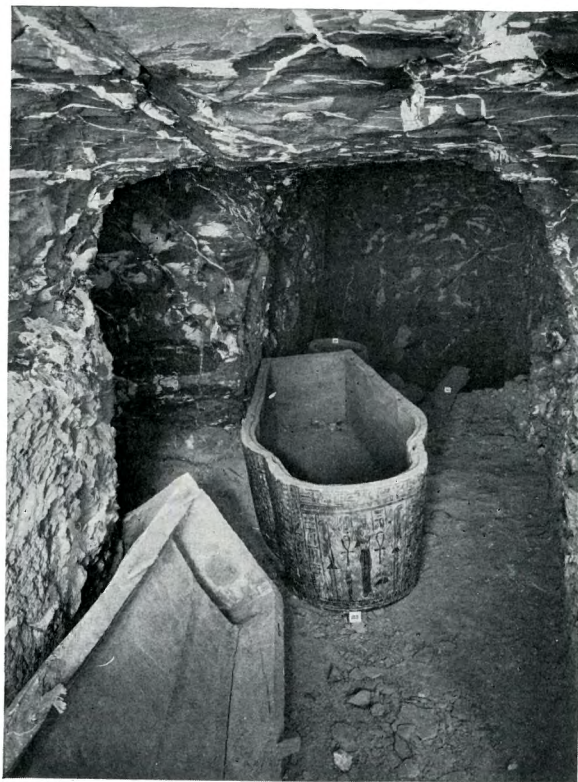
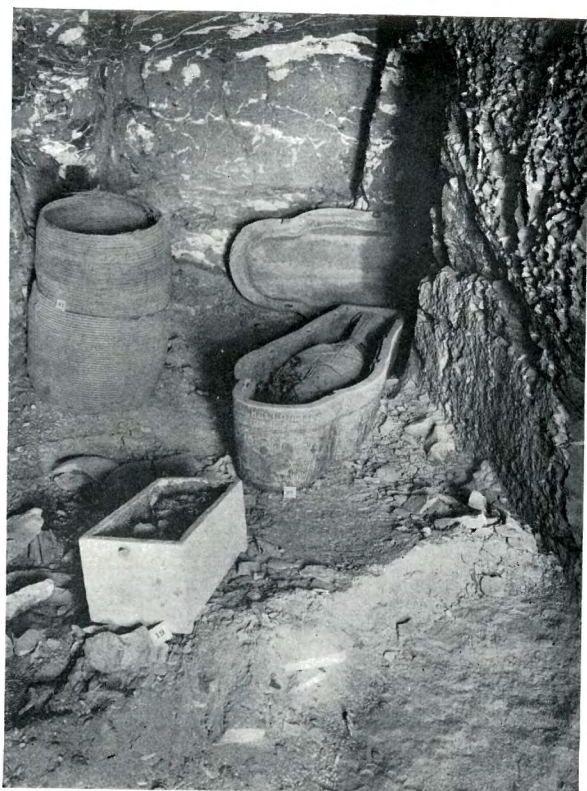
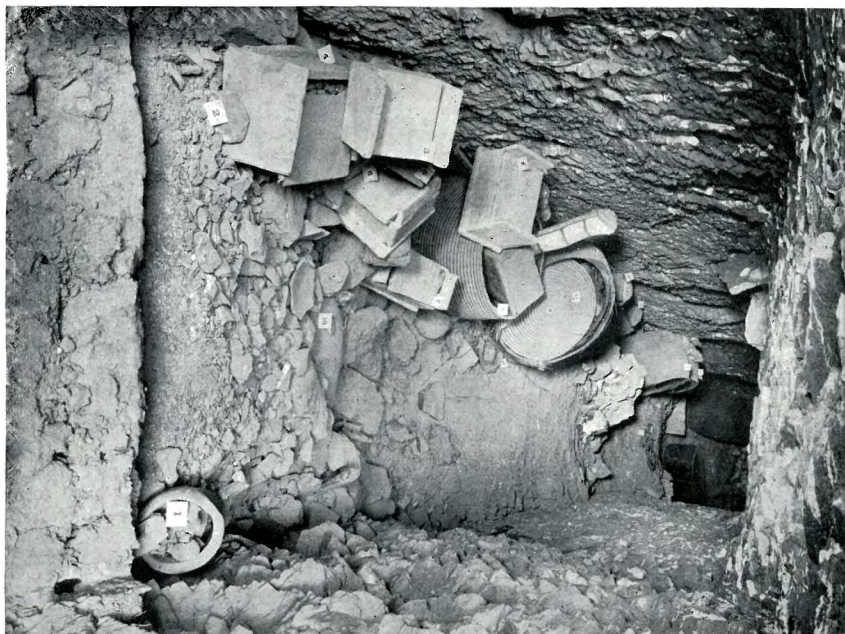


68. THE WALL AND THE TREE HOLES DUG IN THE 'ASĀSĪF BY THUT-MOSE III; AND THE MOUTH OF THE PIT OF MERYET-AMŪN AT DEIR EL BAḤRĪ. 1912-13 AND 1928-29

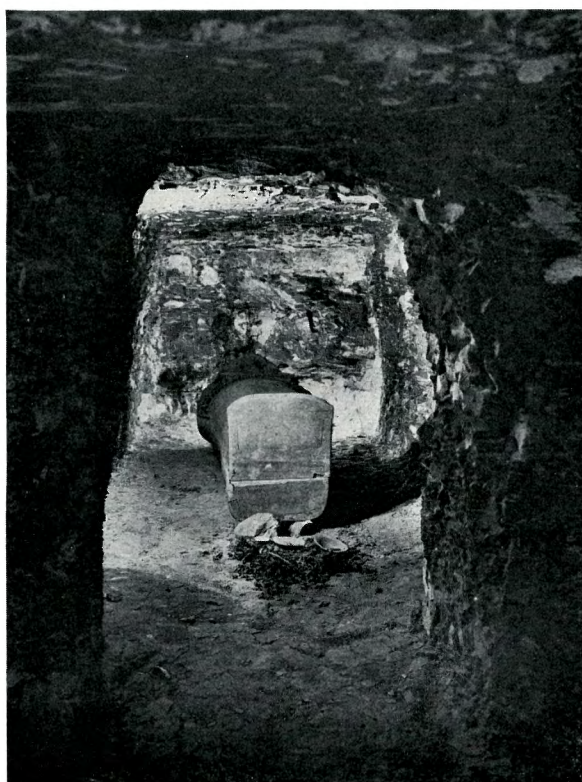


69. PART OF A GRANITE DOORJAMB OF RAMESSES II; AND A CONTEMPORARY BATTLE SCENE, REUSED IN THE XX DYN. TEMPLE. 1912-13

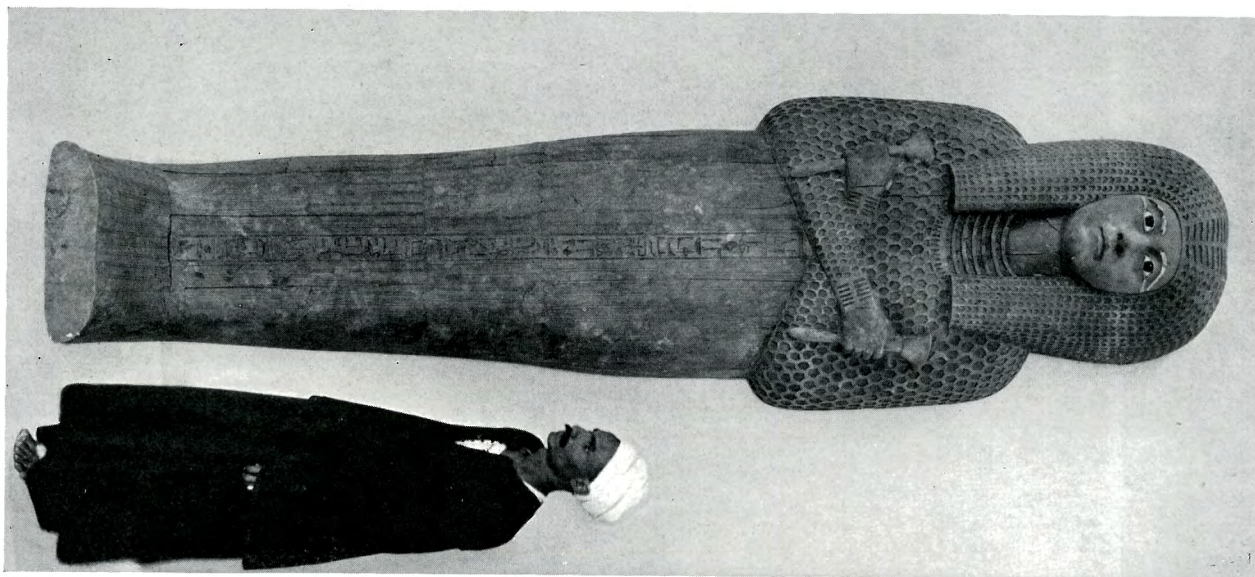
70. FIRST CORRIDOR OF THE TOMB OF MERYET-AMŪN AS WE FOUND IT; AND ONE OF HER BASKETS. 1928-30



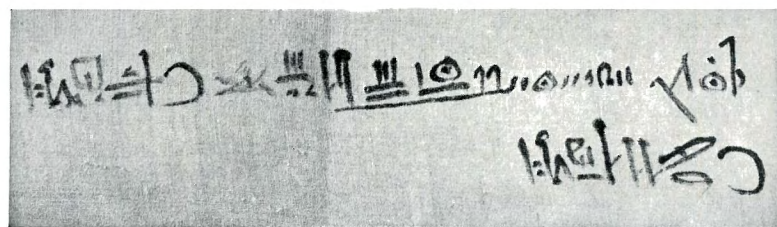
71. OUTER CORRIDORS OF MERYET-AMŪN WITH THE MUMMY AND COFFINS OF ENTIU-NY ON THE EDGE OF THE WELL. 1928-29



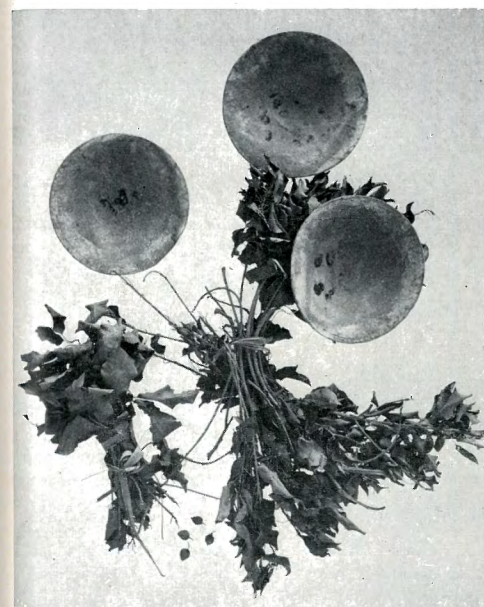
72. THE OUTER AND THE INNER COFFINS OF MERYET-AMŪN IN POSITION AS WE FIRST SAW THEM. 1928-29



73. THE OUTER COFFIN OF QUEEN MERYET-AMŪN. 1928-29



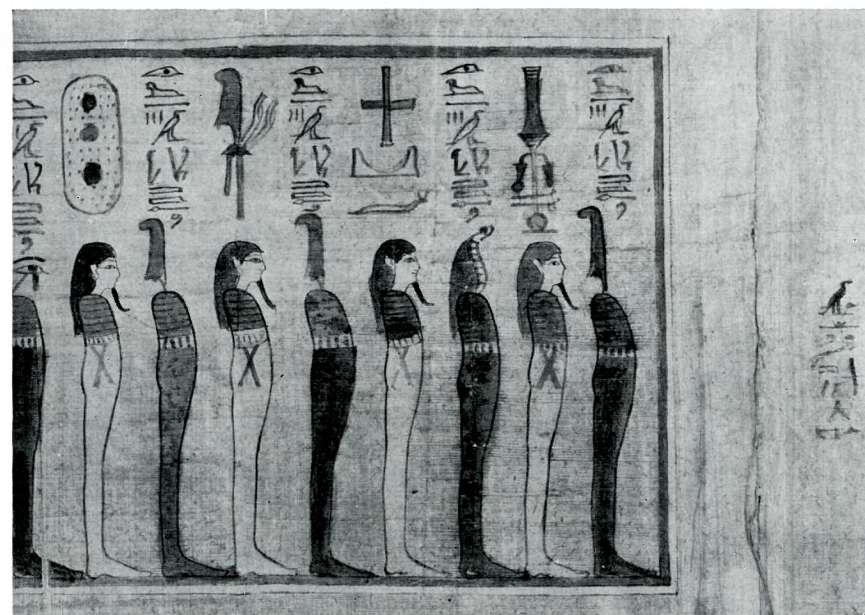
74. THE INNER COFFIN; THE MUMMY AS WE FIRST SAW IT; AND A DOCKET ON THE LATTER'S CHEST GIVING THE DATE OF ITS RESTORATION. 1928-29



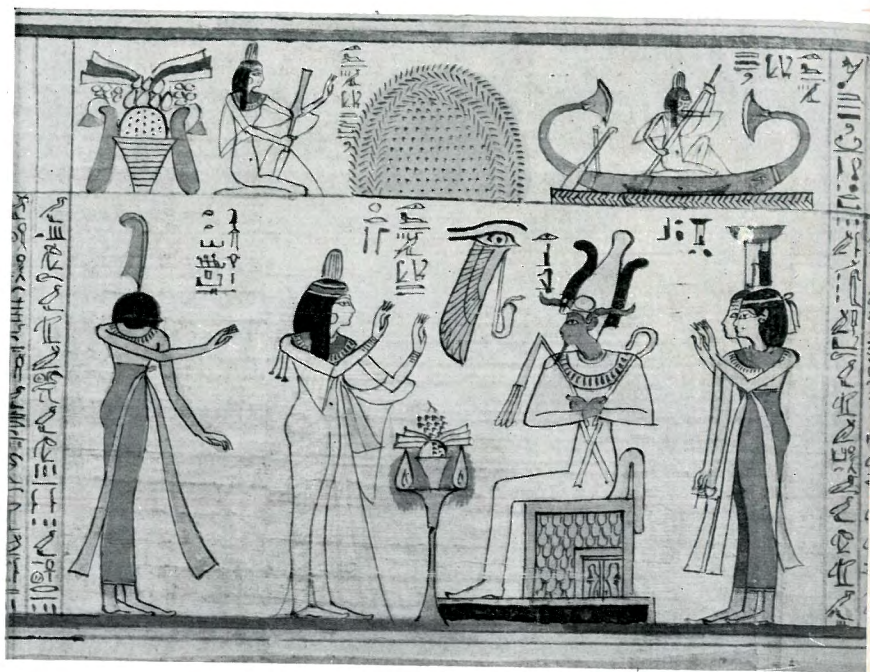
75. QUEEN MERYET-AMÜN; THE PERSEA TWIGS AND THE DISHES PLACED AT HER FEET BY HER RESTORERS; AND HER BEER JAR. 1929-30



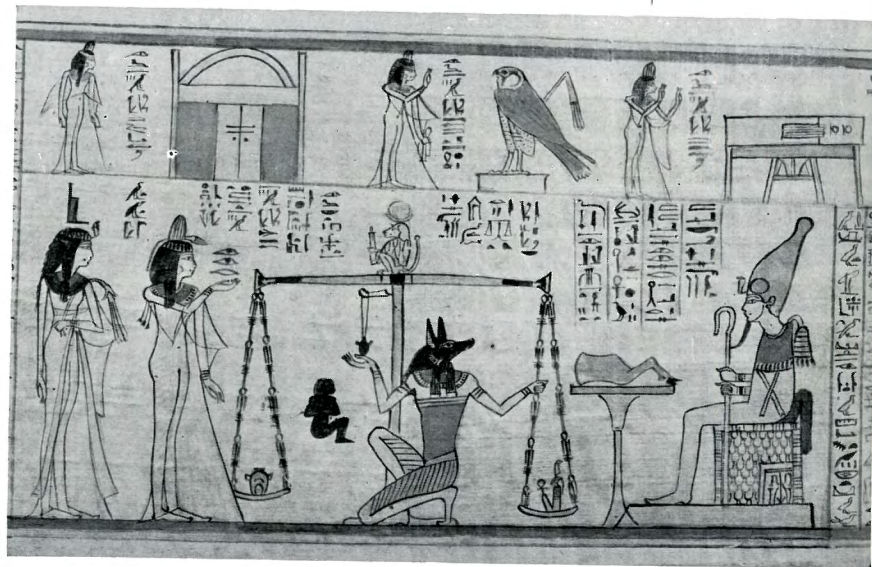
76. THE MUMMY OF PRINCESS ENTIU-NY IN HER COFFIN;
AND HER OSIRIS FIGURE. 1929-30



77. A SECTION OF ENTIU-NY'S "BOOK OF HIM WHO IS IN THE UNDERWORLD"; AND A
VIGNETTE SHOWING HER CULTIVATING IN ELYSIUM. 1929-30



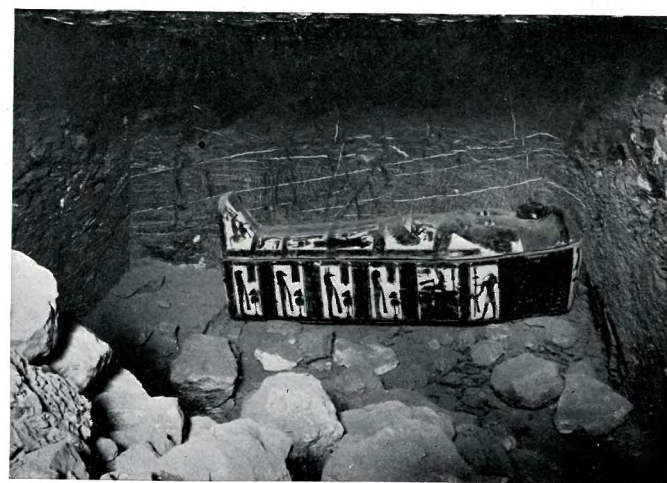
78. SCENES IN ELYSIUM; THE ADORATION OF OSIRIS; THE TOMB, THE HAWK, AND THE DIVINE PALETTE; AND THE WEIGHING OF THE HEART OF ENTIU-NY. 1929-30



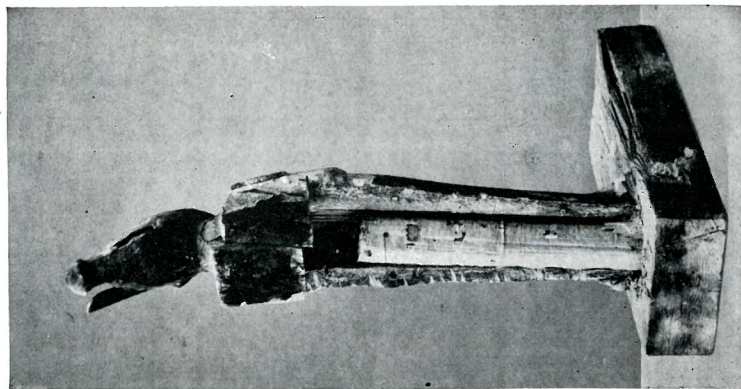
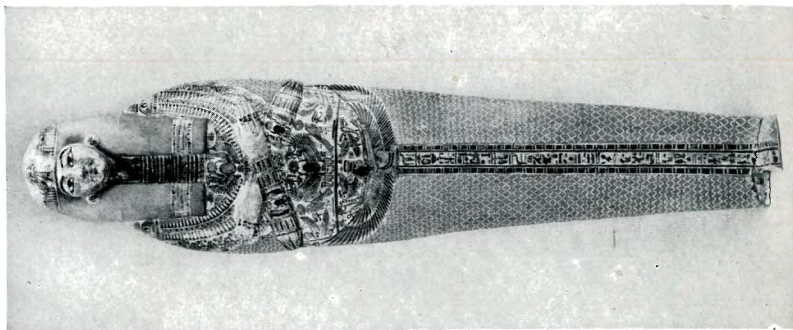
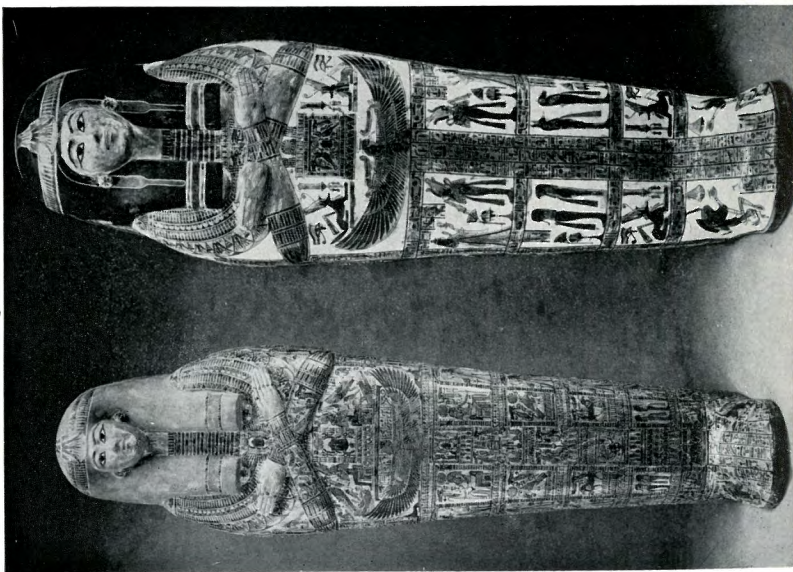
79. ENTIU-NY AT THE GATE OF THE HALL OF JUDGMENT; AND ADORING OSIRIS, LORD OF DËT. 1929-30.



80. THE COFFINS OF THE CHARIOTEER YOTF-AMŪN IN THE TOMB; AT OUR HOUSE;
AND HIS WHIP AFTER IT WAS MENDED. 1920-21



81. INNER COFFIN OF HENT-TOWY; AND HER OUTER COFFIN IN THE
TOMB OF MIN-MOSE. 1923-24

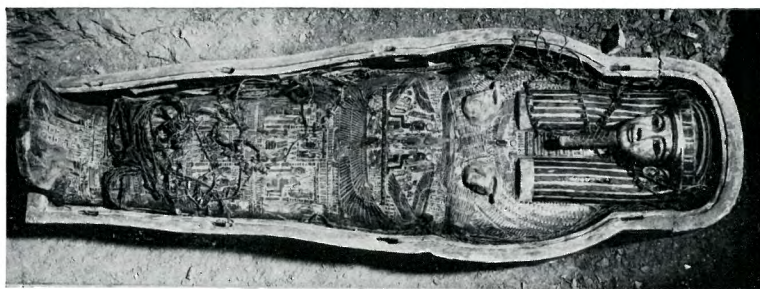


82. COFFINS OF HENT-TOWY; HER INNERMOST LID; AND AN OSIRIS FIGURE WITH ITS BACK REMOVED
SHOWING THE PAPYRUS ROLL. 1923-24

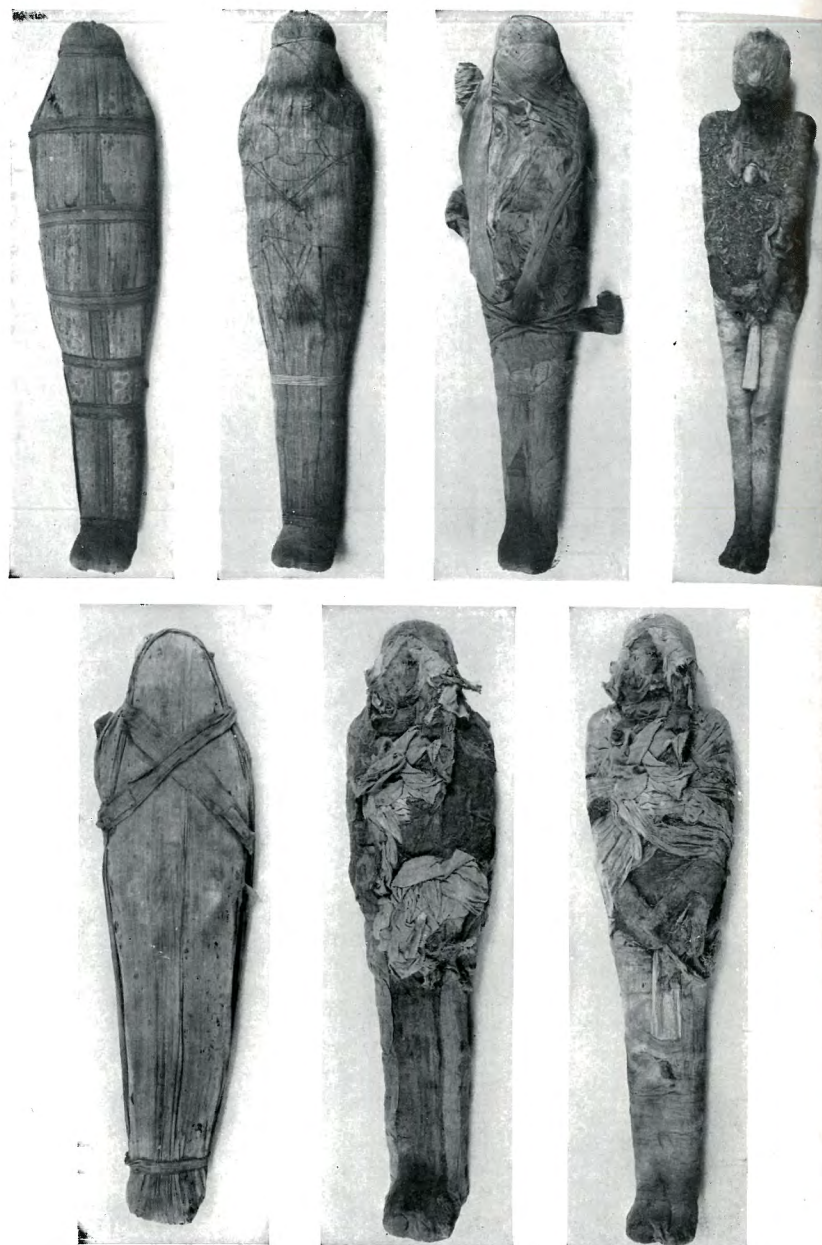


83. A FIRST VIEW INTO THE CRYPT OF THE THREE PRINCESSES;
AND A LATER VIEW SHOWING THEIR COFFINS AND THAT OF
MEN-KHEPER-RĒ'. 1923-24

84. CHEST FOR SHAWABTI FIGURES; AND THE MUMMY AND GARLANDED COFFINS OF
MEN-KHEPER-RĒ. 1923-24



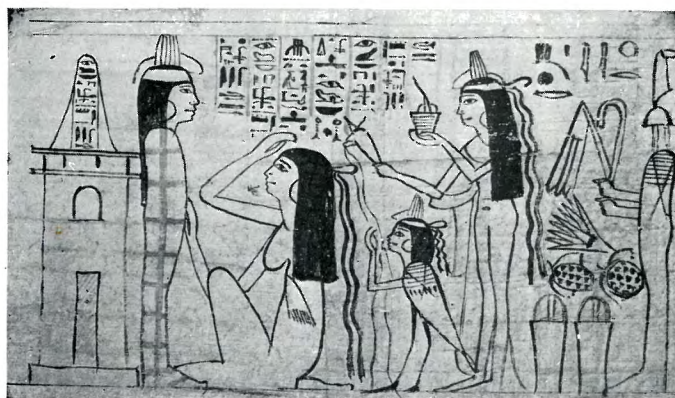
85. OUTERMOST LID OF MEN-KHEPER-RĒ; INNERMOST COVERS OF HENT-TOWY AND DJED-MŪT-ES-ANKH;
AND OUTERMOST LID OF TA-BAK-MŪT. 1924-25



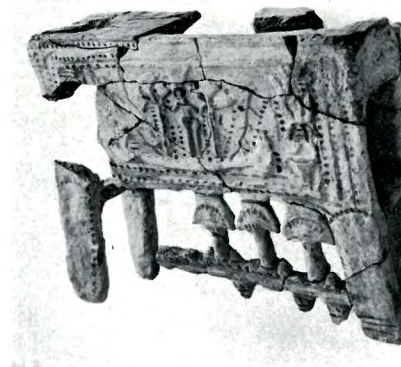
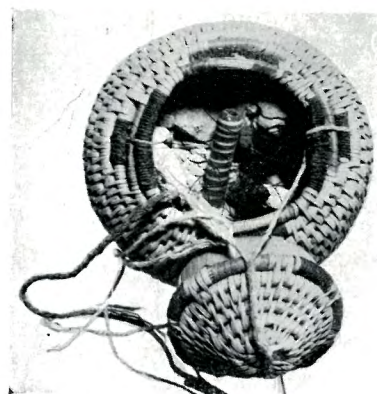
86. FOUR STAGES IN THE UNWRAPPING OF NESIT-ISET; AND EVIDENCES OF PILFERING FROM DJED-MÛT-ES-ANKH. 1924-25



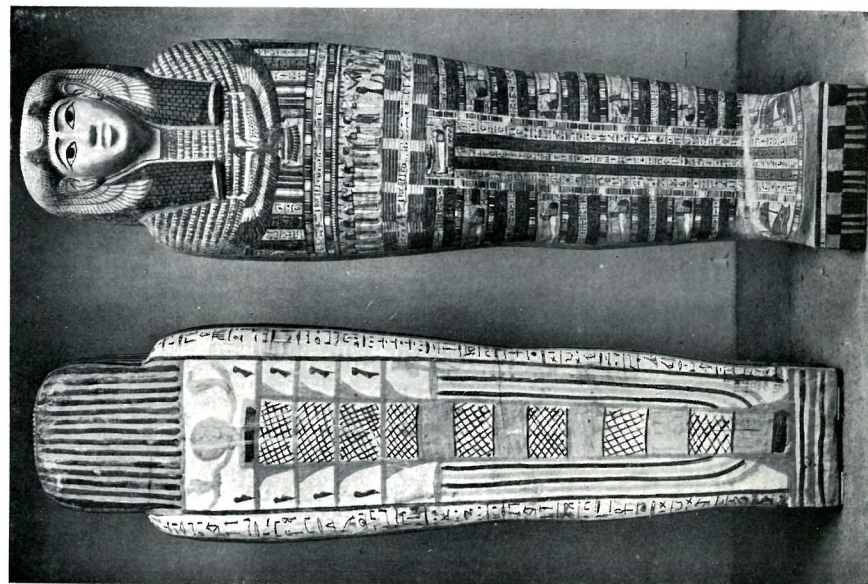
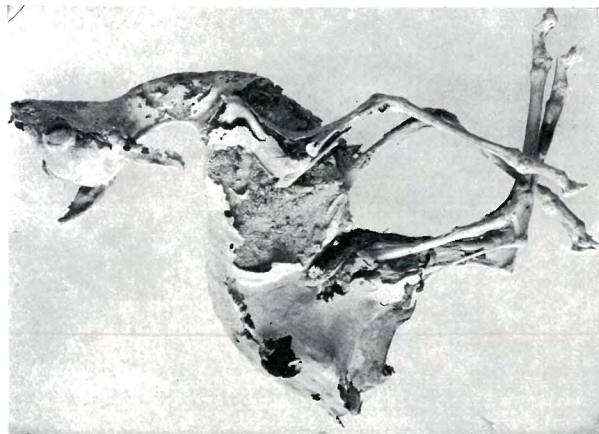
87. PECTORAL ORNAMENTS ON GAU-SEN; THE HEAD OF TEYE; AND PART OF THE INSCRIBED BANDAGE OF DJED-MÛT-ES-ANKH. 1924-25



88. VIGNETTES IN THE PAPYRI OF HENT-TOWY, DAUGHTER OF PAY-NÜDJEM; GAU-SEN; HENT-TOWY, DAUGHTER OF ISET-EM-KHEB; AND OF TEYE. 1924-25



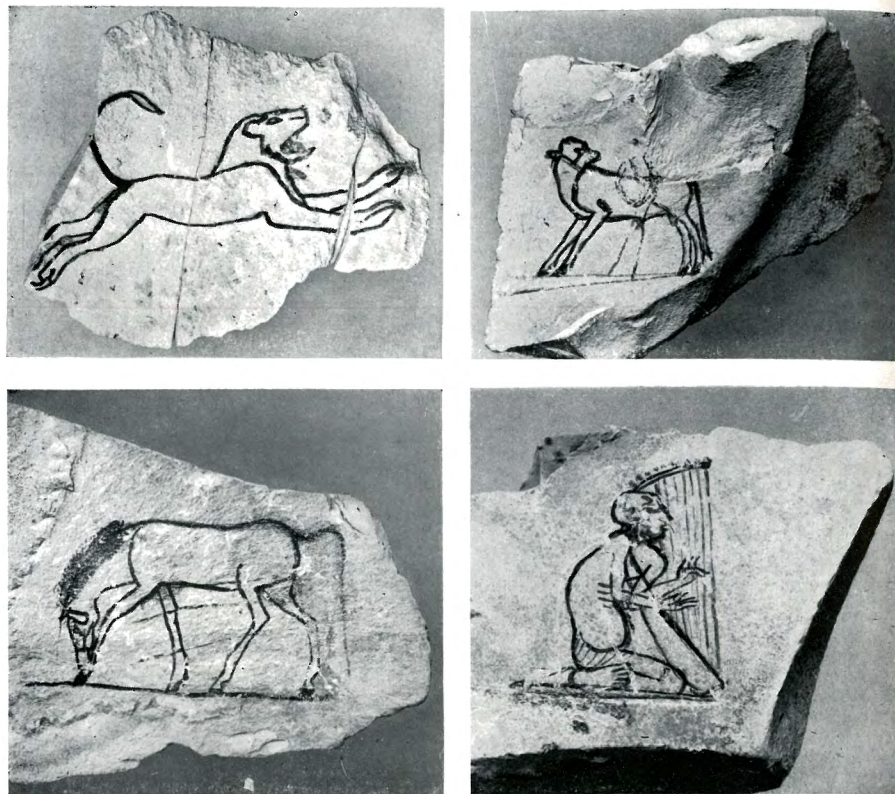
89. CANOPIC JARS; STELA OF THE CHANTRESS OF AMÜN THENT-ENT-ISET, FRONT AND BACK; TOY BASKET OF BEADS; AND A TERRACOTTA STAND. 1912-13, 1921-22 AND 1930-31



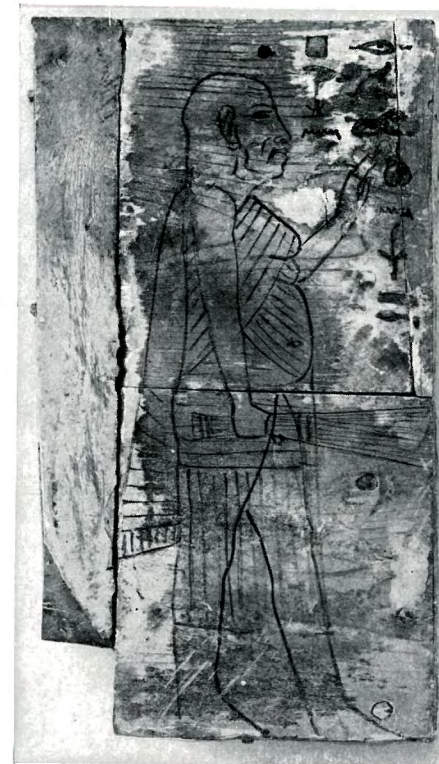
90. INNER COFFIN; PET GAZELLE; AND A SHAWABTI BOX OF ANKH-SHEP-EN-WEPT. 1923-24



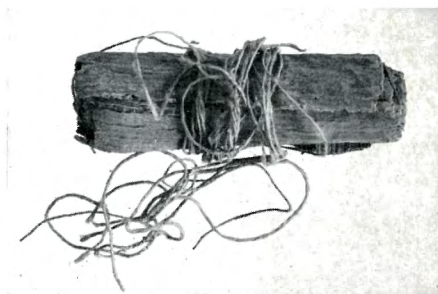
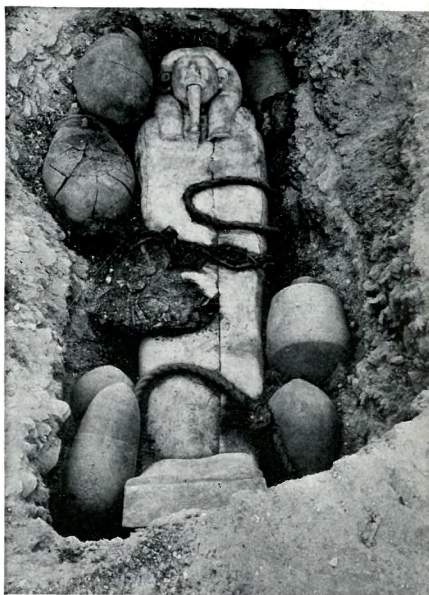
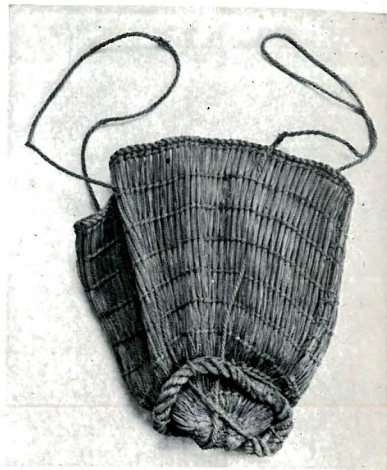
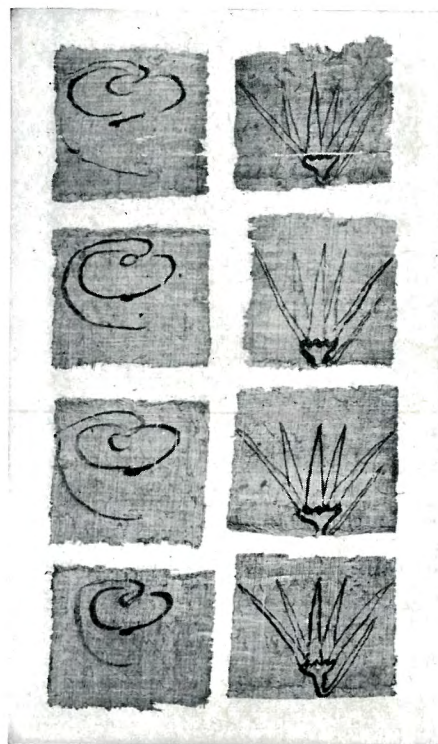
91. A SKETCH IN RED; THE BACKGROUND CUT AWAY; AND THE FIGURES CARVED ON THE WALLS OF THE TOMB OF NESI-PEK-ASHUTI. 1922-23



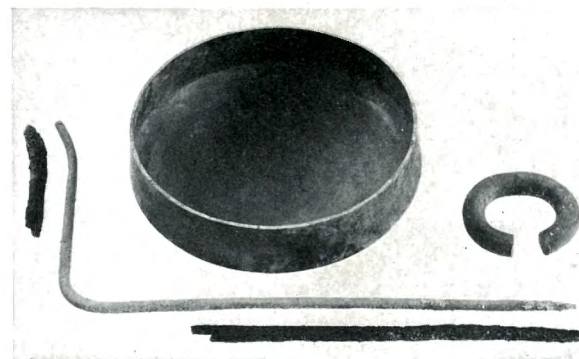
92. A CHARGING LION; A CALF; A HORSE; AND A BLIND HARPER, SKETCHED ON FLAKES OF LIMESTONE FROM THE TOMB OF NESI-PEK-ASHUTI. 1922-23



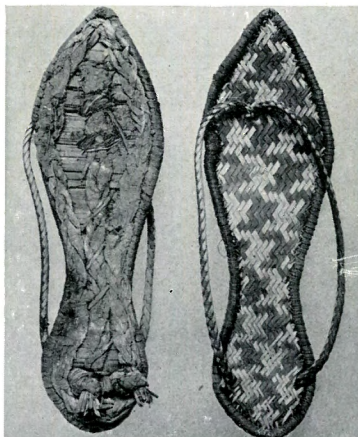
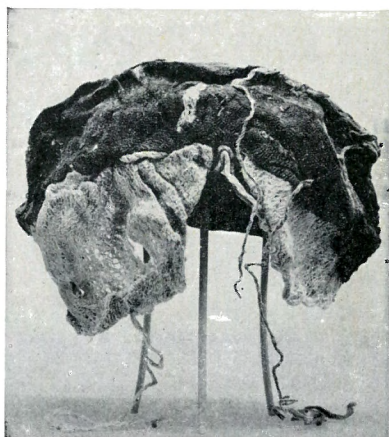
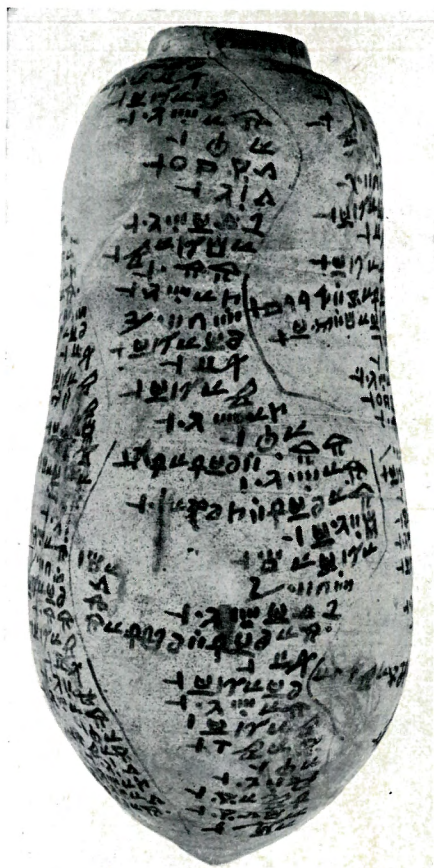
93. THE DOORKEEPER OF THE TEMPLE OF AMÜN PE-KHOR-EN-KHONSU; AN ANCIENT BROOM SUCH AS HE CARRIES; AND JARS OF EMBALMING MATERIALS. 1927-28



94. PAPYRUS SQUARES TIED TOGETHER; A BASKET WHICH HELD EMBALMING MATERIALS;
AND A COFFIN AND JARS CONTAINING OTHERS. 1923-24 AND 1927-28



95. THREE ROMAN MUMMIES; AND DOMESTIC UTENSILS
FOUND IN THE QUARRY. 1923-24 AND 1927-28






96. A LATE INSCRIBED POT; A GARLANDED ROMAN MUMMY; A NETTED WOOLEN TURBAN; AND A PAIR OF SANDALS. 1924-25 AND 1930-31

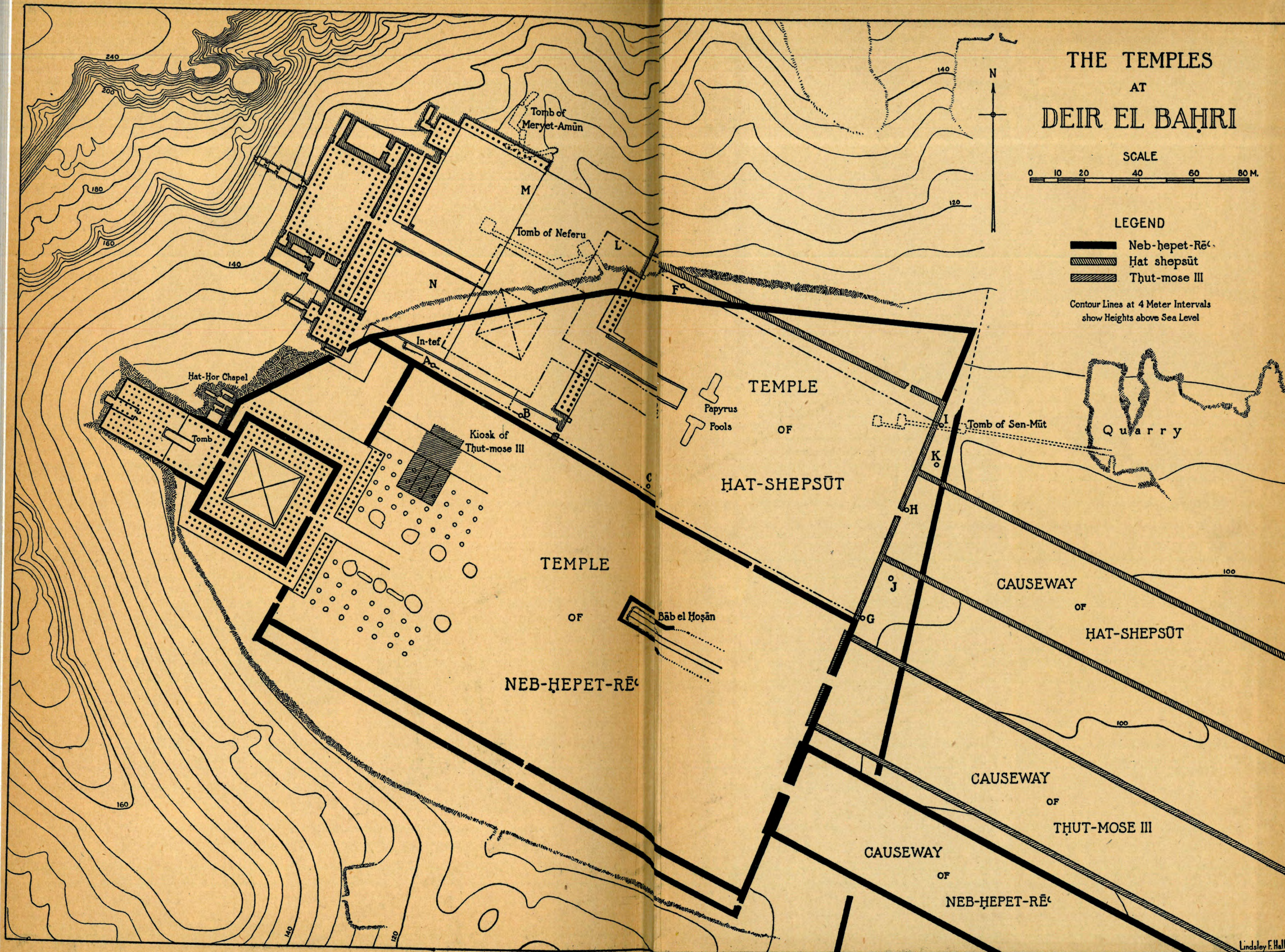
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